The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

A Quarterly

Vol. LV, No. 3 *April, 1950*

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

BOX 2-W, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA • 60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

LONDON: MACMILLAN CO., LIMITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Board of Editors

GRAY C. BOYCE — CARL BRIDENBAUGH — F. C. DIETZ
L. H. GIPSON — ROBERT J. KERNER — J. A. O. LARSEN

Managing Editor
GUY STANTON FORD

Assistant Editor
CATHARINE SEYBOLD

Reviews of Books

General History

LES POLITIQUES D'EXPANSION IMPÉRIALISTE, by William L. Langer . . . 567
Wormuth, THE ORIGINS OF MODERN CONSTITUTIONALISM, by William H. Dunham, jr. . . . 568
Cairns, LEGAL PHILOSOPHY FROM PLATO TO HEGEL, by Stefan A. Riesenfeld . 569
Kohn, THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, by Boyd C. Shafer . . . 570
Taylor, THE ALCHEMISTS: FOUNDERS OF MODERN CHEMISTRY, by George Urdang . . . 571

Ancient and Medieval History

THE EXCAVATIONS AT DURA-EUROPOS, by David M. Robinson . . . 572
Taylor, PARTY POLITICS IN THE AGE OF CAESAR, by W. F. McDonald . . . 574
LES RELIGIONS DE L'EUROPE ANCIENNE, III, by Lily Ross Taylor . . . 576
McCracken, ARNOBIUS OF SICCA: THE CASE AGAINST THE PAGANS, by Tom B. Jones . . . 578
Vogt, CONSTANTIN DER GROSSE UND SEIN JAHRHUNDERT, by M. L. W. Laistner 579
Wojciechowski, L'ÉTAT POLONAIS AU MOYEN-AGE: HISTOIRE DES INSTITUTIONS, by O. Halecki . . . 580
Painter, THE REIGN OF KING JOHN, by Richard A. Newhall . . . 581
Anderson, THE LITERATURE OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS, by J. D. A. Ogilvy . . . 582
Evans, ENGLISH ART, 1307–1461, by Faith Thompson . . . 584
Keeney, JUDGMENT BY PEERS, by Colin Rhys Lovell . . . 586
Reman, THE NORSE DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS IN AMERICA, by Halldór Hermannsson . . . 586

Modern European History

Straus, THE ATTITUDE OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA TOWARD NATIONALISM IN GERMANY, ITALY, AND POLAND, by Hans Kohn . . . 588
DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871–1914), 2e Série, T. X, by Sidney B. Fay . . . 589
Mansergh, THE COMING OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR, by Bernadotte E. Schmitt . 591

(List of Reviews of Books continued on the inside back cover page)

The American Historical Association supplies The American Historical Review to all its members; annual dues are $5.00; applications for membership should be sent to the Executive Secretary, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C. (For further information, see American Historical Association advertisement following last page of text.)

Subscriptions, without membership, may be sent to The Macmillan Company, Box 2-W, Richmond 5, Virginia, or 60 Fifth Avenue, New York 11. The price of subscription is $5.00 a year; single numbers are sold, by The Macmillan Company, for $1.50 (back numbers at the same rate).

Correspondence in regard to contributions to the Review, and books for review, should be sent to the Managing Editor, Guy Stanton Ford, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C.

COPYRIGHT 1950, BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Entered as second-class matter January 16, 1932, at the Post-office at Richmond, Va., under the act of March 3, 1879.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Table of Contents

Vol. LV, No. 3 April, 1950

Articles

PIEDMONT AND PRUSSIA: THE INFLUENCE OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1848–1849 ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF ITALY
Howard McGaw Smyth
479

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CONTEMPORARY HISTORICAL THEORY
Chester McArthur Destler
503

THE GHOST RIVER CALEDONIA IN THE OREGON NEGOTIATION OF 1818
Frederick Merk
530

Notes and Suggestions

EMIGRATION TO RUSSIA
Walther Kirchner
552

Reviews of Books

(See inside cover pages)
567

Other Recent Publications

650

Historical News: Annual Meeting

730

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For Publication in May

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Volume I (to 1865)

by

Arthur C. Bining, University of Pennsylvania

We are proud to announce the first volume in a two-volume set by the Editor of the Scribner Historical Series for colleges. The second volume will be ready in the fall of 1950.

Written in a lucid and direct style, this volume stresses the movements and forces—political, social, economic and cultural—which have shaped the character and institutions of the nation.

A descriptive circular is now available.

About 700 pages Illustrated.

College Department

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

597 Fifth Avenue • New York 17

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SCRIBNER HISTORICAL SERIES FOR COLLEGES

General Editor, ARTHUR C. BINING

University of Pennsylvania

Published May 16, 1949

Ordered by 60 colleges and universities

A HISTORY of ENGLAND

by Goldwin Smith, Wayne University

". . . a modern survey of British history from the eolithic to Clement Attlee and his colleagues . . . an admirable example of contemporary professional history . . . History as Professor Goldwin Smith writes it has the scholarly virtues of fairness, rigorous checking of the facts, exclusion of the writer's own judgments of value . . ."

CRANE BRINTON in *The Saturday Review of Literature*

877 pages $5.00

Ordered by 77 colleges and universities

EUROPE and TWO WORLD WARS

by Arthur J. May, University of Rochester

". . . It combines, it seems to me, good organization and sound scholarship with a readability too seldom found in textbooks. Its several merits include, fortunately, a witty and lively style. It should prove a useful volume in the classroom and out."

JOHN J. REED, Muhlenberg College

700 pages $4.90

Ordered by 145 colleges and universities

THE RISE OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC LIFE

by Arthur C. Bining

"I marvel at the author's skill and success in combining compactness and comprehensiveness. It is all there, in about half the pages now common in American economic history texts."

SAMUEL REZNECK, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

758 pages $5.00

The book now includes a new chapter, "Victory and the Problems of Peace," 26 pages, bringing it up to date.

College Department

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

597 Fifth Avenue • New York 17

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Just Off the Press!

The first volume of Harper's new American History

AN AMERICAN HISTORY

By MERLE CURTI, *University of Wisconsin*
RICHARD H. SHRYOCK, *Johns Hopkins University*
THOMAS C. COCHRAN, *New York University*
FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON, *University of Wisconsin*

The gratifying response to our recent announcement of this distinguished two-volume history of the American people indicates an extraordinary degree of interest in it. Volume I has just been published, in ample time for consideration for fall classes. Volume II will be published in the fall, in good time for second semester classes.

Examination of the first volume will show you the characteristics of the work as a whole: the topical treatment within broad chronological periods; the unusual stress on the forces that have molded American culture—economic factors, social and intellectual impulses, political and diplomatic trends; and the emphasis on the place of the United States in the larger world pattern.

A feature that will appeal to many teachers is the absence of a sharp break between the two volumes. Volume I carries the story through Reconstruction, thus making it possible to treat the Civil War and its aftermath as a unit. *But* Volume II goes back to America's industrial development at the opening of the second half-century, thus keeping the story of industrial expansion—the theme of Volume II—a unit. This "overlapping" makes it possible for the instructor to make the semester break wherever he chooses.

Vol. I, 657 pages Price $4.50

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS
49 East 33d Street, New York 16, New York

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TEXTBOOK NEWS

AMERICAN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY

FIFTH EDITION

By Harold U. Faulkner

- Since 1937, one of the most successful one-volume American history texts for college classes
- Sensibly balanced, clearly expressed—without fads or fancies
- Kept up to date in content and scholarship through frequent revisions
- Attractively presented with ample maps and informative illustrations

954 pages. $5.00

DOCUMENTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

5th Ed. Edited by Henry Steele Commager

589 documents, including treaties, charters, laws, court decisions, important debates and speeches, presented chronologically, with introductory comments and full bibliographies. $5.00

Selections from THE FEDERALIST

Edited by Henry Steele Commager

A compact, inexpensive volume containing articles or parts of articles comprising about one-third of this famous series, and including the best-known and most significant ones. *Crofts Classics.* 35¢

WORKBOOK IN AMERICAN HISTORY

3rd Ed. By Rudolph L. Biesele

Work-sheets especially designed to accompany Faulkner's *American Political and Social History*. The material includes maps, topical outlines, review questions, exercises, and charts. $1.35

125th ANNIVERSARY 1825-1950

APPLETON-CENTURY-CROFTS, INC.

35 West 32nd Street New York 1, New York

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TEXTBOOK NEWS

EUROPEAN HISTORY SINCE 1870

3rd Edition By F. Lee Benns

This new edition, covering events through the summer of 1949, consists of a complete rewriting and reorganization of all the material of the second edition from the beginning of the First World War; the addition of four new chapters, written in the light of recently published official reports, documents, and memoirs, which fully cover the events of World War II; and four new chapters which discuss in a comprehensive, unbiased, and well-ordered manner events of the post war era. New supplementary material—maps, illustrations, charts, etc.—has been included. Large 8vo. 1044 pp. $5.50

EUROPE SINCE 1914

7th Edition By F. Lee Benns

An outstanding text in its field, this book has recently been revised to include events of current importance. The material on the Second World War has been completely rewritten in the light of documents, reports, and memoirs published since 1945. There are five new chapters on the post war period, including discussions of the United Nations, the "Cold War," the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Pact, the Allied occupation and treatment of the defeated nations, Russia and her Satellites, the great and lesser powers of western Europe, and the rise of nationalism in the East. Large 8vo. 873 pp. Illus. $5.00

READINGS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY EUROPEAN HISTORY

Edited by Alexander Baltzly and A. William Salomone

These 359 readings offer source material on European social, economic, ideological, and political developments from the late nineteenth century to the present. Containing selections from such diverse sources as official documents, historical accounts and analyses, memoirs, and contemporary newspapers and magazines, the book offers a well-balanced picture of significant developments of the era. Introductions to the documents connect them and reveal the interrelationships between social, economic, ideological, institutional, and political developments. Large royal 8vo. 610 pp. $5.00

125th ANNIVERSARY 1825-1950

APPLETON-CENTURY-CROFTS, INC.

35 West 32nd Street New York 1, New York

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The
ANCIENT WORLD

By Joseph Ward Swain
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Announcing
A new, two-volume
history of the ancient world
in
HARPER'S HISTORICAL SERIES
Under the Editorship of
Guy Stanton Ford

Here is a distinguished new two-volume history of the people of the Mediterranean basin from the earliest times to the end of the Roman Empire in the sixth century A. D. Written in the best tradition of modern historical scholarship, by a noted scholar in the ancient world, it focuses intensively on the intellectual, social, economic, religious and literary life of the people. As Guy Stanton Ford says in his Foreword, "It uses, as has no other text, all the scholarship since Breasted's day to enrich and broaden the story of the civilization to which the Greeks and ultimately our own world fell heir."

Volume I carries the story to the coming of Alexander, while Volume II centers around the quest for one world which began with Alexander and was completed by Augustus and the Roman emperors of the first two centuries of the Christian era.

Biblical history plays a larger role here than it does in most books on the period, and there is a full chapter on the Hebrews. The volumes are illustrated with many half-tones. The 29 maps are an outstanding feature of the text. All of them have been especially prepared for this text. Places mentioned in the text are all shown on the maps.

Volume I, 568 pages Volume II, 645 pages

Price $4.00 per volume

HARPER & BROTHERS, 49 East 33d Street, New York 16, N.Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Robinson-Shotwell



A famous history which gives particular attention to institutions that deeply affect us and to economic, literary, and scientific as well as political developments. Nine chapters covering the period from the First World War to the present have been revised or freshly written by Dr. Shotwell. In a BRIEF EDITION generally held to be the best available for a survey course in Western civilization and in a TWO-VOLUME EDITION.

Steiger: HISTORY OF THE FAR EAST

Covering the period from earliest days through World War II with particular emphasis on politics but including also religion, philosophy, art, literature, and economics.

Write for information to

Boston 17 *Ginn and Company* New York 11

Chicago 16 Atlanta 3 Dallas 1 Columbus 16 San Francisco 3 Toronto 5

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. LV, No. 3 *April, 1950*

Piedmont and Prussia: The Influence of the Campaigns of 1848-1849 on the Constitutional Development of Italy

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH

SINCE Voltaire's *Age of Louis XV* the analogy of Piedmont and Prussia has been a favorite topic of European political writers. The parallel triumphs of the mid-nineteenth century movements for national unification in Italy and Germany were even more striking than the similarities of the houses of Savoy and Hohenzollern before the French Revolution. In the development of this comparison, British and American historians have formulated a classic contrast between the movements north and south of the Alps: between Bismarck, who unified Germany by blood and iron, humiliated the Prussian *Landtag,* and administered a fatal setback to the liberal-parliamentary movement in Germany, and Cavour, whose fundamental principle was government by parliament and constitutional forms and who declared that he always felt strongest when the chambers were in session.

This contrast between the liberal, parliamentary, progressive movement

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in Italy and the dynastic, military, conservative movement in Germany includes, on the part of the Anglo-American historians who have formulated it, a favorable attitude toward the House of Savoy and a disparaging appraisal of the House of Hohenzollern. The picture of the House of Savoy, as rendered by English-speaking writers, is an image distorted and discolored by the original light cast upon the *Risorgimento* by Italian historians. Their attention has been focused on the drama of national redemption and, convinced of the patriotism of the dynasty of Piedmont—its devotion to the Italian cause—they have tended to emphasize the liberalism of the dynasty and to obscure its similarities with the other royal families of the Continent. Consciously or unconsciously, this picture has been transferred into the English medium because the great bulk of English and American scholarship in the field of the *Risorgimento* has been based immediately and directly on patterns already established by Italian writers. The works of Bolton King, William Roscoe Thayer, George M. Trevelyan, J. A. R. Marriott, and G. F. Berkeley are permeated with a historical sympathy toward the national cause and its dynasty which is almost completely lacking in any comparable group which might be mentioned in regard to modern Germany.

The contrast undoubtedly exists between the German constitutional system under Bismarck—a system which remained fixed until October, 1918—and the system of ministerial responsibility and parliamentary rule which Cavour did so much to consolidate in Piedmont and for the benefit of Italy. After the *connubio* of 1852, a *coup d'état* or counterrevolution would have been necessary to undo that system. Such a counterrevolution did not occur until 1922, and the central point of attack of Fascism in its revision of the Italian constitution was the system of ministerial responsibility. The traditional picture is that cabinet government and parliamentary control over foreign affairs were established in the kingdom of Sardinia by Cavour and under Victor Emmanuel II.

The constitutional significance of the campaigns of 1848 and 1849 has been overlooked. The developments in that very first year of government under the *Statuto* laid the basis for Cavour's consolidation of the system of government in accordance with the will of the parliamentary majority. But constitutional government in Piedmont and in Prussia started with written texts of fundamental law which were almost identical in regard to the position of the monarch. The spirit of the original document in Prussia was successfully defended by the dynasty against parliamentary encroachment on the royal prerogatives. In Piedmont a divergent development took place. This was not so much because of the positive strength of the liberal-constitutional forces

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as compared to those in Prussia but rather because of the military failure of Charles Albert in a crisis in which the dominant element was nationalism. The triumph in Piedmont of parliamentary principles in 1848–49 by monarchic default made easier their consolidation in 1850–52 by the statesmanship of Cavour.

To appreciate this negative significance of Piedmont's bid for Italian hegemony in 1848 it is essential first to review the course of events which were crucial in the development of the constitutional system under the Hohenzollerns. Prussia was swept by revolution in the spring of 1848 as was the rest of central Europe, and Frederick William IV was forced for a time to go along with the current. The army, however, remained monarchist. The conservative constitution which was finally issued in 1850 placed certain guaranties about the royal power. The *Landtag* was granted a share in legislation and the right to vote the budget. The ministers were responsible not to the *Landtag* but to the king. The executive power remained independent of the legislature except for the budget. By article 46 the king retained the direct command of the army which he had exercised in the period of absolutism. Article 108 excluded any oath by officers and soldiers to the constitution in addition to the oath to the king. A constitutional system emerged in Prussia after the revolutionary years but not a parliamentary system. The conduct of foreign affairs devolved on a minister responsible to the king; the legislature had only a slight share in this function on the basis of its power to ratify or reject certain types of treaties. The loyalty of the army to the king, and the retention by the king of his control over the army, enabled the House of Hohenzollern to weather the storm of revolution with the minimum concessions to the new age.

Prussia in 1848–50 made no real attempt to place her army at the service of the German national principle. After a feeble attempt to redeem Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark, Prussia chose to make the truce of Malmö rather than to risk a serious war. In 1850 the Prussian government backed down before Prince Felix Schwarzenberg and accepted the humiliation of Olmütz rather than wage a war for the German national cause against Austria and Nicholas I. The Junker party in Prussia preferred this humiliation rather than a "democratic" and national war which would have meant alliance of the Prussian crown with the liberal-national forces of the Germanies.

In 1859 the struggle of the liberal forces in Prussia for a parliamentary system was renewed. In the attempt to make the monarchy of the Hohenzollerns conform to the pattern of constitutional monarchy of the west, the liberal majority of the *Landtag* concentrated on the military power of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crown. In this period of constitutional conflict, the *Fortschrittspartei* was not averse to an increase in Prussia's military strength but did not wish a depreciation of the *Landwehr,* which, because of the social origin of its officers, represented a more democratic and more national tradition and tendency than did the regular army. The *Landtag* at first approved von Roon's plan only on condition of the reduction of the term of service from three years to two, and when this was refused by the regent and von Roon, the legislature granted the requisite funds for the army reorganization provisionally and for one year only. The next year the parliamentary majority refused the military appropriation in the budget, hoping to force King William to recognize the responsibility of the ministers to parliament. At this juncture Bismarck was called. He put forward the ingenious constitutional doctrine that when the crown and parliament could not agree there was a deadlock for which the constitution made no provision, and, since the government could not be without funds, the budget of the previous year could be used. The crown maintained control over the army, over the ministers, and over foreign policy.

During the wars of 1864, 1866, and of 1870–71, the German national problem was "solved" through a very remarkable and successful exercise by the king of Prussia of those powers which in 1848–50, and 1859–62, the Prussian crown had reserved to itself and independent of parliamentary control: command of the army and control over foreign affairs. Bismarck and von Moltke, each responsible to the king alone, won and exploited the victories which redeemed the Elbe duchies, expelled the Habsburgs from Germany, and then united the rest of the German states against France. The constitution of the North German Confederation (1867) and of the German Empire (1871) preserved for the Hohenzollerns their exclusive control over the military and foreign policy. The German chancellor was responsible not to the *Reichstag* but to the emperor, king of Prussia. The essence of the Hohenzollern experience was the successful employment and exploitation of those peculiarly royal powers over the army and over foreign affairs which the dynasty preserved from parliamentary interference. It should not be forgotten that the Prussian monarchy took up the task of unifying Germany only after it had achieved a thorough reform and modernization of its army.[1]

Like William I, Charles Albert, king of Sardinia (1831–49), devoted great attention to his army. He has been credited by some writers with a reorganization and strengthening of the Piedmontese army which looked forward to

[1] For relatively recent discussions, see Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism: Romance and Realities of a Profession* (New York, 1937), pp. 198–209; Herbert Rosinski, *The German Army* (rev. ed., Washington, 1944), pp. 54–59.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the possibility of a war for Italian independence.[2] Charles Albert indeed had a much easier task in carrying through his military reforms than did William I, for they were made in the period of absolutism, and by the simple procedure of issuing royal decrees, edicts, and regulations.[3] These Albertine military reforms, however, did not at all aim at preparing the Piedmontese army for an independent war against Austria. The reforms were based on the royal legislation of 1831–1832, and the army was formed for an Austro-Sardinian campaign against France in accordance with the secret military alliance of Charles Albert with the House of Habsburg negotiated in 1831.[4] It was only about 1846, and under the influence of the encouragement given by Pius IX to the Italian national cause, that Charles Albert shifted over to an anti-Austrian policy.[5] No changes were made in the military organization to accord with the new orientation of foreign policy.[6] Contrary to the assertions in numerous secondary works, the Sardinian army in 1848 was not well prepared for the task which was suddenly thrust upon it. The inadequacy of Charles Albert's military reforms was an important factor leading to Piedmont's defeat in 1848. The army was not designed to operate alone outside the realm. It had neither maps nor plans for a campaign against Austria and had never held maneuvers for such an operation.[7]

In shifting over to an anti-Austrian policy Charles Albert gave great encouragement to the elements, within his own kingdom and elsewhere in Italy, who desired liberal reforms as well as Italian independence. Under the pressure exerted by the liberal-national party, Charles Albert granted a constitution. The *Statuto,* issued on March 4, 1848, was intended to conserve for the crown the maximum powers compatible with the existence of a parliament. In the crucial matters of the powers of the king, the relation of the king to the army, to the ministers, and to the legislature, there is little differ-

[2] See, for example, César Vidal, *Charles-Albert et le Risorgimento italien 1831–1848* (Paris, 1927), pp. 88–89; George Fitz-Hardinge Berkeley, *Italy in the Making, 1815 to 1846* (Cambridge, England, 1932), p. 79.

[3] Regie determinazione, Oct. 6, 1831, Sovrana determinazione, Oct. 25, 1831, and Regie lettere patenti No. 3, Dec. 31, 1831, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi pubblicate nell'anno 1832* (Turin, 1832), pp. 83–125, 2–4, 59–62.

[4] For text of the secret alliance against France, see Alessandro Luzio, "Gli inizi del regno di Carlo Alberto: Nuovi documenti," *Memorie delle Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino,* 2d series, LXVI, Part 2 (1926), 2–6. See also Francesco Lemmi, *La politica estera di Carlo Alberto nei suoi primi anni di regno* (Florence, 1928), pp. 55–80; Adolfo Omodeo, *La leggenda di Carlo Alberto nella recente storiografia* (Turin, 1940), pp. 38–40, 134.

[5] Luigi Chiala, ed., *Ricordi di Michelangelo Castelli, 1847–1875* (Turin, 1888), pp. 48–50; Lemmi, pp. 115–16.

[6] Ferdinando A. Pinelli, *Storia militare del Piemonte,* III (Turin, 1855), 92–94.

[7] For an accurate description of the Piedmontese army in 1848, see Comando del corpo di stato maggiore, Ufficio storico, *Relazioni e rapporti finali sulla campagna del 1848 nell'alta Italia* (Rome, 1910), III, 419–55; *Relazioni e rapporti finali sulla campagna del 1849 nell'alta Italia* (Rome, 1911), pp. 665–77; Luigi Chiala, *La vita e i tempi del generale Giuseppe Dabormida* (Turin, 1896), pp. 14–19; Pinelli, III, 20–115.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ence between the clauses of the Prussian and Piedmontese constitutions as translated into the common denominator of the English language.

Which Is Which?[8]

The "liberal" *Statuto:*	The "conservative" *Verfassung:*
ARTICLE 4.	TITLE III, ARTICLE 43.
The person of the King is sacred and inviolable.	The person of the King shall be inviolable.
ARTICLE 5.	TITLE III, ARTICLE 45.
To the King alone belongs the executive power. He is the supreme head of the State;	The executive power shall belong to the King alone.
	TITLE III, ARTICLE 46.
commands all land and naval forces;	The King shall be commander-in-chief of the army.
	TITLE III, ARTICLE 48.
declares war; makes treaties of peace, alliance, commerce and other treaties, communicating them to the Chambers as soon as the interest and security of the State permit, accompanying such notice with opportune explanations; treaties involving financial obligations or alterations of the territory of the State shall not take effect until they have received the approval of the Chambers.	The King shall have power to declare war and make peace and to conclude other treaties with foreign governments. The latter require for their validity the assent of the Chambers in so far as they are commercial treaties or impose burdens on the State or obligations on the individual subjects.
ARTICLE 65.	TITLE III, ARTICLE 45.
The King appoints and dismisses his ministers.	He [the King] shall appoint and dismiss the ministers. He shall order the promulgation of the laws and issue the necessary ordinances for their execution.
ARTICLE 7.	
The King alone approves and promulgates the laws.	
ARTICLE 67.	TITLE III, ARTICLE 44.
The ministers are responsible. Laws and governmental acts shall not take effect until they shall have received the signature of a minister.	The King's ministers shall be responsible. All official acts of the King shall require for their validity the countersignature of a minister who shall thereby assume responsibility for them.

[8] English translations of the respective clauses: of the *Statuto* from Walter Fairleigh Dodd, *Modern Constitutions* (Chicago, 1909), II, 5–16; of the *Verfassung* from Edwin H. Zeydel, *Constitutions of the German Empire and of the German States* (Washington, 1919), pp. 229–37.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Article 66.	Title IV, Article 60.
The ministers shall have no vote in either Chamber unless they are members thereof.	The ministers, as well as the State officials appointed to represent them, shall have access to each Chamber and must at all times be heard upon their own request. Each Chamber can demand the presence of the ministers. The ministers shall be entitled to vote in either one of the Chambers only when members of it.
They shall have entrance to both Chambers and shall be heard upon request.	
Article 9.	Title III, Article 51.
The King shall convene the two Chambers each year. He may prorogue their sessions and dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, in which case he shall convene a new Chamber within a period of four months.	The King shall convoke the Chambers and close their sessions. He may dissolve the two Chambers together or either one. In such a case, however, the electors shall be assembled within a period of 60 days, and the Chambers summoned within a period of 90 days, respectively, after the dissolution.

The *Statuto* was issued only a few weeks prior to the outbreak of the national war. It was composed with the advice and assistance of councillors of the absolutist period and there is no doubt that the conservative wording of the text reflected the conservative intentions of those who composed it.[9] Nor is there much mystery in the remarkable similarity of wording of the *Statuto* and the Prussian *Verfassung:* both drew heavily on pre-existing models, the French constitutions of 1814 and of 1830 and the Belgian constitution. It is the divergent historical development after the issuing of the respective constitutions which accounts for the differences between liberal Italy and conservative Prussia. For Charles Albert it was peculiarly embarrassing to imitate Louis Philippe, the object of his particular execration.[10]

Charles Albert himself seems to have considered abdicating rather than grant a constitution.[11] Possibly he was worried by his oath to maintain the system of absolutism intact.[12] The ministers who urged the king that granting a constitution was the lesser evil of the courses open to him were all royal

[9] The records of the twelve ministerial conferences, January to March, 1848, in which the granting of the *Statuto* was discussed, decided, and its eighty-four articles adopted, are published by Adolfo Colombo, *Dalle riforme allo Statuto di Carlo Alberto* (Casale, 1924), and by Giorgio Falco, *Lo statuto albertino e la sua preparazione* (Rome, 1945). Additional information regarding the genesis of the *Statuto* is to be found in Federico Sclopis di Salerano, "Della introduzione del governo rappresentativo in Piemonte," in Colombo, pp. 186 ff.; *Notes et souvenirs inédits du chevalier Louis Des Ambrois de Nevache* (Bologna, 1901), pp. 14–20; Emilio Crosa, "Lo statuto del 1848 e l'opera del Ministro Borelli," *Nuova Antologia,* CCLXI (June 16, 1915), 533–41.

[10] Lemmi, p. 22 n. 1.

[11] Colombo, p. xxvii.

[12] P. Ilario Rinieri, *Lo statuto e il giuramento del re Carlo Alberto* (Rome, 1899), pp. 140–42, 200–202, 204–205.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

servants of the absolutist period and, with the possible exception of Marquis Cesare Alfieri di Sostegno, all would have preferred the maintenance of the absolute monarchy. Count Giacinto Borelli suggested, "If a constitution has to be adopted, why not take the most monarchic, the one most studied for sixty years."[13] Count Giacinto Fedele Avet urged, "It is necessary to adopt a constitutional regime, thereby conserving to the crown the greatest authority compatible with the representative system."[14] Count Mario Broglia spoke for all in recommending "that they search for a constitutional system which would least take power from the king."[15] The whole tenor of the discussions of the royal councils proves overwhelmingly the intention to preserve in the hands of the king the greatest powers compatible with representative institutions. One searches in vain in the discussions regarding the ministers and impeachment for even the remotest suggestion of the system of ministerial responsibility.

Article 5 of the *Statuto* was intended to reserve to the king those most important attributes of royal power of the absolutist period: the war-making power, and the conduct of foreign policy. The phrase "He commands all land and naval forces" meant originally the direct exercise of military command by the king in person. The phrase "He declares war" had originally the same direct meaning, political as well as legal. In regard to the control of foreign affairs we have the word of Count Sclopis: "In article 5 they tried to embarrass the least possible the action of the government in respect of treaties, introducing some dispositions drawn in part from the Portuguese constitution."[16] This constitutional design of monarchic predominance was not different from the Prussian plan so aptly described as *"konstitutionell-monarchisch."*[17]

It may be noted in passing that the conservative wording of the actual text of the *Statuto* was a constant source of embarrassment to Italian whigs during the heyday of the liberal monarchy. Casanova, writing in 1875, speaks of the doctrine of ministerial responsibility as being founded on the distinction between acts which are royal prerogatives in essence and those which are such by nature. Acts which are royal prerogatives by nature, he states, are per-

[13] Colombo, p. 81.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 86.
[16] Sclopis, "Della introduzione del governo rappresentativo in Piemonte," in *ibid.*, p. 186. For the antecedent model in the Portuguese constitution see Dodd, II, 163. Antonio Monti has asserted that the prestige of parliament, even as to its claims of the power to ratify an armistice, was one of the *"capisaldi"* of the *Statuto* (*La giovinezza di Vittorio Emanuele II* [Milan, 1939], p. 285). Monti's argument is an illustration of the confusion that continues to exist between the original *Statuto* and the meanings which were read into it.
[17] Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848–49*, II (Berlin, 1931), 291.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

formed by ministers, and for these the ministers assume responsibility toward parliament.[18] Brusa in 1892 wrote that the position of the throne toward the chamber of deputies, toward the ministry, toward parliament, rested on the moral authority of custom, and was on the point of becoming constitutional law because it derived from the spirit of constitutional government.[19] When Sidney Sonnino wrote his famous or notorious article calling for a return to the *Statuto* and the establishment of an executive on the model of the German chancellorship, he argued correctly that the text of the Albertine constitution did not contemplate the system of ministerial responsibility, the usurpation of the powers of the crown by the cabinet, or such an office as president of the council of ministers.[20] Perusal of the comprehensive work of Racioppi and Brunelli suffices to show how much the basic clauses of the constitution had become, by the Giolittian era, overlaid with legislative acts, royal decrees, ministerial decrees and regulations, and parliamentary customs as to make the then living constitutional system something quite different from the Albertine text.[21]

An interesting study by Giuseppe Maranini, which curiously enough appeared at the very time the constitutional system of Italy was being radically altered by Fascism, presents in succinct form the whig doctrine of the *Statuto*.[22] This clause-by-clause discussion involves some intellectual feats to show that the words of the document mean something different from what they say. Maranini notes in regard to article 5, that there was an immediate evolution from a constitutional form of government to a parliamentary form.[23] When Mussolini prepared the emasculation of the liberal constitution of Italy, his commission, headed by Giovanni Gentile, drew heavily on Sonnino's article for inspiration.[24] It discovered that the constitution in origin was essentially a monarchic constitution which did not contemplate parliamentary government but on the other hand did not exclude the germs of its development. The commission members, like Maranini, recognized and stated the problem: parliamentary government began to emerge in Italy almost contemporaneously with the *Statuto;* it was observed almost from the first application of that instrument in little Piedmont.[25] Mussolini's committee

[18] Ludovico Casanova, *Del diritto costituzionale* (3d ed., Florence, 1875), II, 38–39.
[19] Emilio Brusa, *Das Staatsrecht des Königreichs Italien* (Freiburg im B., 1892), p. 19.
[20] Un Deputato, "Torniamo allo Statuto," *Nuova Antologia,* CLI (Jan. 1, 1897), 9–28. See particularly pp. 20–22.
[21] Francesco Racioppi and Ignazio Brunelli, *Commento allo statuto del regno* (Milan-Rome-Turin, 1909).
[22] *Le origini dello statuto albertino* (Florence, 1926).
[23] *Ibid.,* p. 153.
[24] *Relazioni e proposte della commissione per lo studio delle riforme costituzionale* (Florence, 1932), pp. 11–14.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 15.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

found that the clauses of the *Statuto* which had not positively excluded parliamentary government were nevertheless sufficiently broad and firm to support the antithetical system of a head of the government independent of parliamentary control.

For us, however, the problem is the one which was at least suggested by Maranini and indicated by Mussolini's committee, that somehow the system of parliamentary government emerged during the very first year of the *Statuto*. Was this because of the magnaminity of Charles Albert, the grantor of the Piedmontese constitution? Was he "unkingly" in his behavior and views and did he wish to see the Piedmontese parliament take over those powers which the kings of Prussia so carefully conserved for themselves? Having granted the constitution did he wish to see parliament speedily come into its own, and did he purposely aid the rapid transformation which took place? To answer these questions the comparison with the developments in Prussia may be quite illuminating.

In the first year of the Sardinian constitution there are three periods, clearly distinguished in regard to the control of the army and command of the armed forces, the relation of parliament to foreign policy, and the problem of ministerial responsibility. These are: (1) March 4–August, 1848, the period in which the king commanded the army directly, kept all crucial decisions on foreign policy in his own hands, and failed most miserably as a *Feldherr* and as a diplomatist; (2) August–December, 1848, when the king was subjected to criticism for his failures, the ministry took on itself the right to decide in regard to command of the armed forces, and parliament assumed the authority to determine the fundamental issues of foreign policy; (3) December 16, 1848–March 23, 1849, when parliament, ministry, and king decided to renew the war, and the king returned to the army by the back door, with a curiously ambiguous formula designed to disguise the fact of his transmogrification from the head of the state to the leader of the Democratic party. The aftermath, the constitutional system inherited by Victor Emmanuel II after his father's second disastrous defeat, may perhaps be considered a fourth period.

The first period, March to August, represents the application in the war against Austria of the system embodied in the original text of the *Statuto*. When the constitution was issued on March 4, it was stipulated in article 82 that it would go into operation with the first meeting of parliament, elections for which were scheduled for April. A new ministry was appointed on March 16, headed by Cesare Balbo, charged by the king with the responsibility for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

introducing the new constitutional system.[26] These ministers, usually listed as the first constitutional cabinet, were not chosen in accordance with the wishes of the legislature whose members were yet to be elected. They were appointed directly by the king as advisers who would be able to work with parliament when it was constituted. Charles Albert on March 23, having discussed the matter with his council, attacked Austria. It made no difference whether or not the *Statuto* were in effect, for article 5 gave full power to the king to declare war.

The king led the army in person, likewise in accordance with article 5. The officers and soldiers were, of course, bound simply by their oath to the king.[27] Charles Albert was commander-in-chief. Antonio Franzini served as quartermaster general: Carlo Canera di Salasco as chief of staff. Franzini's dual position as minister of war (constitutionally responsible), and as quartermaster general (under the king's command) was curiously ambiguous. His duties in the war ministry at Turin devolved largely on Giuseppe Dabormida. Charles Albert likewise kept all fundamental decisions on foreign policy in his own hands. In other words Piedmont's war against Austria was initiated under a system in which the king exercised precisely the same powers as did the king of Prussia in 1866.

Ever since his military adventures in Spain, Charles Albert had yearned for military glory.[28] When he was the faithful ally of Metternich, he had stipulated in the military alliance of 1831 that he was to have command of the joint army. Interestingly enough, some Austrians questioned his ability to command a whole army.[29] After his conversion to the Italian cause Charles Albert insisted on having the glory and honor of leading the national crusade against Austria. There were, however, a few professional military men who even at the start of the war questioned, not the constitutional correctness of the king's action, but the wisdom of his leading the army in person. Alfonso Ferrero della Marmora, who well knew the irresolution of the king's character, suggested to Franzini to recommend to the king that he make use of the services of Marshal Bugeaud, giving the marshal effective command and with the king retaining only nominal command. Charles Albert rejected the suggestion and persuaded Franzini to serve as quartermaster general.[30] About

[26] *Des Ambrois de Nevache,* pp. 19–20; Sclopis, "Della introduzione del governo rappresentativo in Piemonte," in Colombo, pp. 190–98.

[27] The oath to the king *and constitution and laws* was not introduced until later, a development quite diverse from that of Prussia (Racioppi and Brunelli, I, 253).

[28] Giuseppe Maria Gerbaix de Sonnaz, "Mes souvenirs sur le roi Charles-Albert," in Omodeo, pp. 133–34.

[29] Lemmi, p. 77.

[30] Chiala, *Dabormida,* pp. 434–35.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the end of April, Charles Albert's hesitations began to cause anxiety to keen observers. Balbo, president of the council of ministers, was about to visit headquarters. Cavour, Roberto Azeglio, Sineo, Vincenzo Ricci, Santarosa, and Castelli composed a memorandum, suggesting that the king delegate the effective command of the army. The argument invoked was the usage in constitutional countries in which the king, being politically not responsible, did not assume direct command. The real issue, and the motive that inspired the politicians was the fear that the king would lose the war. Balbo rather reluctantly presented the suggestion to the king but it had no effect.[31]

What was the attitude of parliament when it first met on May 8? Were its members immediately critical of the war lord position assumed by their constitutional sovereign? Not at all. The national war had quite absorbed the attention of the literate propertied classes to which the suffrage was granted, and voting in the April elections was light.[32] When parliament first met, its hopes were concentrated on national victory; all hearts were with the army which was fighting the war of independence. Lorenzo Valerio drew great applause by expressing "the profound recognition and faith which the entire country feels for the king and for the army."[33] After the victories of Goito and Peschiera a deputation of parliament was sent to headquarters to express their gratitude to the king.[34] Compared to such an elemental force as nationalism, liberalism was indeed feeble. Who could be so picayune as to criticize the king for leading the fight against the national enemy, as long as the king was winning?

The essential facts of the campaign of 1848 have long been well established, and are not obscured by the Fascist attempt to reassess Piedmontese numbers downward and Austrian figures upward the better to explain the defeat. Charles Albert's hesitations at the very start of the war permitted Milan to claim for itself the victory over Radetzky during the "Five Days." His slowness permitted Radetzky to concentrate the Austrian forces in the Quadrilateral. Having reached the Mincio by May, Charles Albert did not know what to do. He failed to seize the mountain passes and cut off Radetzky from the possibility of receiving reinforcements. He failed to make appropriate use of the numerical superiority which he and his allies, some 90,000, had over Radetzky in May, who had about 60,000. After the battle of Vicenza the

[31] Chiala, *Ricordi di Castelli*, p. 51, n. 1.

[32] Paul Matter, *Cavour et l'unité italienne*, II (Paris, 1925), 27.

[33] *Atti del parlamento subalpino*, II, *Sessione del 1848, Discussioni della Camera dei deputati*, pp. 2–3; Edoardo Arbib, *Cinquant'anni di storia parlamentare del regno d'Italia*, I (Rome, 1898), 63.

[34] *Atti del parlamento subalpino*, I, *Sessione del 1848, Documenti*, pp. 53–55; Arbib, I, 64–65.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

advantage shifted to the Austrian side. Radetzky on July 23–25 defeated the Sardinian army at Somma Campagna and Custozza. In the retreat the Sardinian army melted away. Charles Albert rejected Radetzky's offer of an armistice on the line of the Adda River which would have left the king in possession of Milan. He failed to defend Milan and on August 9 made an armistice on the prewar boundary of the Ticino, the armistice of Salasco.[35]

What was the attitude of parliament toward the war during this first period? There was no direct criticism of the king, but on May 29 Angelo Brofferio, while praising the prince and the soldiers, declared that the generals leading the army were singularly unskillful. He proposed to Balbo that a deputation be sent to the king urging that Charles Albert take proper measures to secure effective leadership.[36] On June 17 Evasio Radice, a former officer, raised the question whether in the war there were a general responsible toward the ministry. Balbo replied that the ministry was responsible for all its acts and for the conduct of the war. Radice then pressed the question whether there existed at the head of the army a general responsible for the conduct of the war. In the absence of Franzini who had returned from the field, Radice was dissuaded from pressing his question.[37] Constitutional doctrines regarding command of the army grew more popular as doubts regarding the effectiveness of royal leadership increased. On July 3 Deputy Siotto-Pintor raised the question whether any of the generals were fit to command an entire army, and expressed the fear that the king would not long be able to resist Radetzky. Balbo replied that a representative government consisted chiefly in the separation of powers, deliberative, legislative, and executive powers. The conduct of the war pertained to the executive power, he declared, and during the war the deliberative body could not discuss the conduct of operations. He indicated, however, that Franzini would reply in a few days. The minister of war–quartermaster general did so, but the general conviction remained that the army was not skillfully commanded.[38]

The function of the Balbo ministry had been to mediate, to represent and to assume toward parliament and public opinion responsibility for the policy imposed on it by the king. There were no party divisions at the beginning of the first legislature, no line between the supporters of the ministry and the opposition. Nevertheless parliamentary support of the first constitutional

[35] The basic Italian source collection on the campaign of 1848 is the *Relazioni e rapporti finali 1848*. Anton Edlen von Hilleprandt, *Der Feldzug in Oberitalien im Jahre 1848* (Vienna, 1867) is based on documents in the Austrian *Kriegsarchiv*.

[36] Angelo Brofferio, *Storia del Piemonte dal 1814 ai giorni nostri*, Part III, *Regno di Carlo Alberto*, II (Turin, 1851), 126–28.

[37] *Atti del parlamento subalpino*, II, 181; Chiala, *Dabormida*, pp. 436–37.

[38] *Atti del parlamento subalpino*, II, 257–58; Arbib, I, 70–72.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ministry was weakened by the increasing suspicion that the king's military leadership was inept. This was one among several factors which led to the ministry's resignation on July 6. Other factors were the desire to leave the king free to choose a new cabinet representing all parts of the kingdom of North Italy established by the law incorporating Lombardy and parts of Venetia under the House of Savoy, and the insistence of the chamber on conditions in that law which the Balbo ministry itself opposed.[39] The Balbo ministry continued in office until July 27, when the ministry of Gabrio Casati was announced. This new cabinet had scarcely assumed office when its *raison d'être* was destroyed by Radetzky's reconquest of Lombardy.

The battle of Custozza, the disastrous retreat from the Mincio, the terrible party strife in Milan, and the final humiliation of the Salasco armistice represented a crushing defeat for the Italian national cause. Thereafter, Italian nationalists were torn by bitter party strife. The diplomatic opportunity of 1848, when Austria was so weakened by revolution that she was willing to cede Lombardy, was unique. When Lombardy was finally freed in 1859, it was the result of the alliance of Piedmont with France, the patronizing alliance of Napoleon III that hung like a millstone round Italy's neck for more than a decade. The military opportunities in 1848 were also unique: there had been several chances for the Piedmontese army to defeat Radetzky decisively, as even the Royal Commission of 1849 concluded,[40] but Charles Albert had failed to use them. But Custozza and the retreat to the Ticino were not merely the failure of the Italian national cause and the personal failure of Charles Albert. They marked the failure of that constitutional system under which the war was waged, the bankruptcy of that system of monarchic predominance delineated in the text of the original *Statuto*. It was the king as the embodiment of the executive power who himself was responsible for the great military and diplomatic mistakes. The logic of events proved more powerful than the carefully drawn formulas and the conservative intentions of the royal advisers who drafted the constitution. After the Salasco armistice, not even the Piedmontese conservatives would permit the king to retain personal command of the army.

Although the first campaign against Austria was not terminated until signature of the armistice on August 9, a new period begins in the relationship of the king to the ministers as soon as the defeat at Custozza was fully realized at Turin. Parliament, for a short time, continued to place great faith

[39] *Ibid.*, I, 14–29.
[40] Commission Report, Mar. 8, 1850, *Relazioni e rapporti finali 1849*, No. 163, p. 677.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the king. The newly formed Casati ministry announced its program of continuing the war in spite of the defeat and the inclusion of Gioberti in the cabinet seemed a pledge to the national cause. On July 29, parliament conferred dictatorial powers on the king for the duration of the war and on August 2 it was prorogued.[41] The crucial decisions in the first part of August, which determined the policy of the government from August to December, were decisions made by the king: (1) to accept the armistice with Radetzky rather than French aid; (2) to accept the proffered Anglo-French mediation rather than risk the possibility of French intervention.

The Casati ministry, representing as it did not only old Piedmont but also Lombardy and Venetia, requested the aid of the French Republic in order to continue the war. Casati and Gioberti visited the king at his headquarters at Vigevano and urged him to keep up the war, and that French aid was imminent. Finding the king determined to make an armistice, the ministers on August 7 presented their resignations to him.[42] Salasco, the chief of staff, on the orders of the king, signed the armistice of August 9 by which the Austrian armies reoccupied all of Lombardy.[43] The appeals for French intervention which the Casati ministry had initiated were thus cut short. Immediately after Casati and Gioberti submitted their resignations, Charles Albert asked Revel to form a new ministry.

The armistice, because it meant renunciation of the struggle for independence, excited great indignation among the nationalist elements, particularly the ministers. They now publicly resigned, or resigned again, and delivered a letter to the king severely critical of the military leadership and charging that the Salasco armistice was unconstitutional, arguing that it was essentially a political rather than a military act and therefore required the countersignature of a minister.[44] The new ministry, after its formation, was obliged to accept responsibility for the truce with Austria. While negotiations

[41] *Atti del parlamento subalpino,* II, 491–96, 500; Luigi Ferraris, "La prima legislatura del parlamento subalpino 1848," *Rivista storica del Risorgimento italiano,* III (1898), 14.

[42] Giuseppe Massari, *Ricordi biografici e carteggio di Vincenzo Gioberti* (Turin, 1862), III, 183–84; Vittorio Ferrari, ed., *Carteggio Casati-Castagnetto, 19 marzo–14 ottobre 1848* (Milan, 1909), p. 234; Chiala, *Dabormida,* pp. 86–87.

[43] Text of the armistice, in *Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Italy* (1848), III, 173–74. It was, of course, incompatible with the laws passed by parliament, on the proposal of the king's ministers, and annexing the following: Piacenza, May 27, 1848, Decree No. 728; Parma and Guastalla, June 16, 1848, Decree No. 733; Modena and Reggio, June 21, 1848, Decree No. 736; Lombardy and four provinces of Venetia, July 11, 1848, Decree No. 747. Constitutionality of the armistice was challenged because of the incompatibility.

[44] The letter, printed in *Gazzetta Piemontese,* Aug. 18, 1848, is reprinted in Giovanni Gentile, ed., *Lettere di Carlo Alberto a Ottavio Thaon di Revel* (Milan, 1931), pp. 128–32. See also Pareto to Abercromby, Aug. 13, 1848, *Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Italy* (1848), III, 183, No. 185, Enclosure No. 1; Gustave Armand Henri, comte de Reiset, *Mes souvenirs,* I, *Les débuts de l'indépendance italienne* (2d ed., Paris, 1903), p. 181. Charles Albert recognized the letter for what it was: *"une attaque indirecte, mais fort claire contre le Roi."* (Gentile, p. 128.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were going on for the formation of a conservative ministry which would accept the king's policy and shield him from the public outcry against his faulty leadership and against the truce with Austria, the British and French governments offered their mediation. This scheme, by which Lord Palmerston proposed to gain Lombardy for Piedmont and at the same time exercise a restraining influence on the bellicose tendencies of France, was promptly accepted by Charles Albert. He appointed Revel minister of finance and the instrument of mediation was duly countersigned. A ministry was composed a few days later under the presidency of Cesare Alfieri di Sostegno.[45]

The new ministry, so bitterly denounced by Gioberti for its "municipal" spirit, received its policy already determined by the king's actions. Its members were much more conservative than the previous ministry and represented Piedmont rather than North Italy, hence "municipal." Their monarchist faith and principles were unquestioned. But it was this conservative and monarchist ministry which took the first step toward the removal of the king from command of the army. When first asked to form a ministry, Count Revel told the king that, if he hoped to resume the war and gain victory, it was indispensable that the army be commanded by a responsible chief and that those generals against whom public opinion had complained be subjected to an inquest. Without this, said the count, he would be unable to find anyone who would enter the cabinet.[46] This cut the king to the quick, and he wrote: "[This] seems to me to be absolutely contrary to the article of the constitution which says that the king shall be the chief of the army; this was confirmed to me by all the council, on my observation, at the time they discussed the constitution which I granted."[47] The cabinet, however, adhered to its program. Franzini, as minister of war, had the thankless task of persuading the king to accept a French general. He gave up the ministerial post after a few days to be succeeded by Dabormida. Alfonso Ferrero della Marmora was sent on a special mission to secure the services of some French general with a good reputation: Bugeaud, Changarnier, or Bedeau.[48] No ministry took office under the Hohenzollerns on such conditions.

Equally ticklish for this ministry, *"un peu grand seigneur et un peu con-*

[45] Abercromby to Palmerston, Aug. 16, 1848, and enclosures, *Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Italy* (1848), III, 203–209, No. 200. Although Revel was formally appointed minister on August 15 in order to accept the mediation, the ministry was not fully composed until August 19. In its declaration of policy the new ministry made a nice straddle in regard to the Salasco armistice: *"Il ministero deve rispettare l'armistizio come fatto militare, ma non può riconoscere in quello un atto di politica transazione che distrugga i fatti compiuti e che segui le basi di ulteriori negoziazioni."* (Chiala, *Dabormida,* pp. 106–107, 110.)

[46] *Ibid.,* p. 88.

[47] Aug. 20, 1848, in Gentile, pp. 121–22.

[48] Chiala, *Dabormida,* pp. 107–108, 112–16. It should be noted that the mission of La Marmora was a collective action by the council of ministers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

servateur," was the problem of weeding out the incompetent military commanders. Chiala comments that Charles Albert's attitude regarding the officers —his personal intervention in the problem of personnel—was like that of the king of Prussia.[49] Instead of the public inquest which Cavour demanded in regard to the conduct of the generals in 1848, Dabormida directed all the officers who took part in the campaign to submit written reports.[50]

When parliament reassembled on October 16, the general good feeling and absence of party alignment which had characterized that same body when it first met in May, was definitely over. The ministers and their supporters took their places on the right, the opposition on the left. Both groups were nationalists; both insisted on securing recognition by Austria of the annexation to the crown of Savoy of the Po duchies, Lombardy and parts of Venetia. The Right, however, hoped to secure Lombardy by the Anglo-French mediation and did not wish to alienate the Western Powers. The Left wanted war, a democratic war, with an army purged of its incompetent elements and of those who were lukewarm or hostile to the national cause. The Left was quick to raise the cry of "treason," and charged that Salasco was a "traitor." The Right regarded the royal army as the only instrument of warfare at hand but did not have much faith in its effectiveness. All the questions regarding the Salasco armistice and the acceptance by Revel of the Anglo-French mediation were thoroughly discussed.

From assessing responsibility for the political situation, parliament promptly moved to a discussion and debate on the problem of war or peace, or, as the issue was drawn, immediate war by denunciation of the armistice of Salasco; or delay in the hope that the Anglo-French mediation might achieve something and in order that the army might be better reorganized.[51] In terms of the original *Statuto,* parliament had arrogated to itself a power reserved to the king alone; "a crowd of lawyers of modest fortune"[52] was delving into the deepest mysteries of state. Not only did parliament presume to decide on war or peace but it took up directly the question of reform and strengthening of the army, during which discussion Deputy Lanza cautioned

[49] *Ibid.,* p. 131. Compare with the letters of Charles Albert to Revel, in Gentile, pp. 120 ff.

[50] These individual reports form the bulk of the *Relazioni e rapporti finali 1848,* and the basis of the report of the commission which was completed October 24, 1848, (*ibid.,* III, 419–55). The commission's report served to justify the action of the ministry in removing the king from command of the army. The facts revealed in the inquiry were kept rather well hushed up inasmuch as publication was delayed until 1910. Some of the individual reports, however, such as that of General Giovanni Battista Eusebio Bava, got out in the newspapers. Bava might have commanded the army in 1849 had his report not revealed so clearly the responsibility of the king.

[51] *Atti del parlamento subalpino,* III, *Sessione del 1848, secondo periodo, Discussioni della Camera dei deputati,* pp. 506 ff.; Arbib, I, 35–42; Enrico Tavallini, *La vita e i tempi di Giovanni Lanza* (Turin and Naples, 1887), I, 69.

[52] The phrase used by Borelli in the ministerial conference of March 2, 1848 (Colombo, p. 144).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the chamber against granting discretion to the minister of war, lest it serve as a precedent "prejudicing the right of the chamber to make laws concerning the organization of the army."[53] The chamber paused, however, over the question whether it was competent to determine in detail the reorganization of the battalions in accordance with the bill introduced by Deputy Lyons.[54]

It must be emphasized that the Alfieri-Perrone ministers were conservatives but not reactionaries, that they had no thought of restoring absolutism or of abandoning Piedmont's claim to the Po duchies and to Lombardy. They foresaw the resumption of the war as inevitable but they shrank from undertaking it themselves. Charles Albert, who had foisted his own policy (Salasco armistice plus Anglo-French mediation) on the conservative ministry, was embittered by its determination to deprive him of command of the army. He talked for a time of abdicating. His long years of rule as an absolute monarch had not prepared him for the outcry in the press against his conduct of the war and in negotiating the Salasco armistice. Utterly disheartened, he seemed inclined for a time to let the ministry do what it wished in the matter of the army command, and to accept the role of a constitutional sovereign.[55] But as his spirit revived he began intrigues behind the backs of his ministers, hoping to get back the command of the army with the assistance of the Democratic party.[56]

Charles Albert was not displeased that La Marmora was unable to find any prominent French general willing to command the royal army of the kingdom of Sardinia. When Wojciech (Alberto) Chrzanowsky showed up in Turin, he made a good impression on the ministers and the king alike. The ministers appreciated his military knowledge; the king, however, liked the suggestion that he himself retain nominal command with the effective command to be exercised by the Polish general as his chief of staff. For the very reason that this solution would have permitted Charles Albert to get away from the capital and back to the army, the ministry decided to make another attempt to get a French general.[57] This second attempt was as fruitless as the first. Lacking the confidence of the king, under constant attack in the chamber of deputies, unable to obtain anything through the Anglo-French mediation except good advice, and unwilling to embark on a war for which it knew

[53] *Atti del parlamento subalpino,* III, 1147; Arbib, I, 81, n. 4.

[54] *Atti del parlamento subalpino,* III, 1009, 1145–52; Arbib, I, 81–82.

[55] Charles Albert to Franzini, Aug. 21, 1848, "*quant à la proposition que vous me faites de lui envoyer La Marmora, que désirant me tenir absolument à part de cette négociation pour être fidèle a mes principes, le ministère fasse, en cette circonstance, comme en tant d'autres, ce qu'il croit.*" (Chiala, *Dabormida,* p. 114.)

[56] Brofferio, Part III, Vol. III, 10–12.

[57] Chiala, *Dabormida,* p. 222.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the army was unprepared, the Perrone ministry resigned on December 6.[58]

This period between August and December, 1848, marked a definite shift away from the monarchical predominance of the original *Statuto*. The debasement of royal authority because of the king's military failures enabled the conservative ministry to assume the right to name the commander of the army. The abandonment by Charles Albert of the national cause brought about the claims of parliament to decide on the fundamental issues of war or peace. Although there was as yet no definite claim by parliament that the ministers were responsible directly to it, parliament's claim to decide fundamental issues implied that ministerial policy would have to accord with its wishes.

The third period, from December 16, 1848, to March 23, 1849, coincides with the tenure of office of the Democratic ministry. In calling the Democrats to office, under the leadership of Gioberti, Charles Albert entrusted with power the elements which made the most extreme profession of the democratic faith, of the rights of parliament, and of the liberal interpretation of the *Statuto*. The statements and pamphlets which some of these men issued immediately before and after Novara convey the impression of a deep-seated suspicion of all personal exercise of royal power.[59] These men talked and wrote as if they considered parliament omnipotent, and the ministry as responsible to parliament only. As far as proclaimed theory is concerned, there was a complete triumph under the Democratic ministry of the parliamentary conception of government. Charles Albert indeed found himself in strange company with his last ministry.[60]

The one bond between the Democratic ministry and the king was their common desire to resume the war against Austria as soon as possible. The hypocrisy of Charles Albert in catering to this group, who were the ones who raised the cry of treason after the Salasco armistice, who were so free in criticism of the royal war of 1848, was exceeded only by the hypocrisy of the new ministers. In parliament, in the press, in the light of day they were "Democrats"; at night they were in close consultation with the king. They wanted re-

[58] Arbib, I, 52–54. Ettore Perrone di San Martino had succeeded Alfieri as president of the council of ministers on October 12. Although he opposed the war policy, Perrone gave his life at Novara.

[59] See particularly "Risposte dei cessati ministri Chiodo, Cadorna e Tecchio alla relazione del 10 aprile del general maggiore Alberto Chrzanowski prodotta alla commissione di inchiesta" (Turin, 1849), reprinted in full in *Relazioni e rapporti finali 1849*, No. 167, pp. 741–81.

[60] The court was a bit bewildered by Charles Albert's new friends. On ushering in Gioberti and the other ministers for the audience, General Sonnaz bawled out: *"Annunciate a Sua Maestà l'abbate e tutta la compania democratica."* (Marie Charles Albert Costa de Beauregard, *Épilogue d'un règne: Milan, Novare et Oporto: Les dernières années du roi Charles-Albert* [Paris, 1890], p. 421.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sumption of the war. The only instrument for waging war was the royal army. The army would march at the command of the king but not otherwise.[61] The king was as essential to the Democratic ministry as they were to the king in his hope once more to attack Austria.

Gioberti, president of the council of ministers, was something of an exception in the cabinet and had come to be the leader of the Democrats through peculiar circumstances in which the personal repugnance of Charles Albert toward the "renegade priest" was an important factor. A man of broad knowledge, broad Italian views, and superb confidence in his own abilities, he was so anxious for power that he placed himself with the Democrats in order to obtain it. The program of the Democratic ministry called for a prompt resumption of the national war.[62] Once in office, however, Gioberti was able to gain a more accurate picture of the defects of the Sardinian army than he had entertained as leader of the opposition.[63] Furthermore, the chamber of deputies, elected in April, 1848, the era of good feeling, was quite evenly balanced between Left and Right, between those who were determined on war no matter what the risks and those who feared the gamble. With the consent of the king, the Gioberti ministry dissolved the chamber and called on the country for the election of a truly democratic parliament. The election took place in an atmosphere of gathering war clouds. Those who opposed the program of ministry plus king were denounced as reactionaries and traitors to the national cause. The Democratic war party gained a very substantial majority.[64]

This majority soon proved very embarrassing to Gioberti. Unwilling to run the risk of a direct attack against Austria with so uncertain an instrument as the Piedmontese army, Gioberti proposed an intervention in Tuscany, hoping to extend it also to Rome and thereby to re-establish the hegemony of Piedmont over the other Italian states.[65] He relied on the diplomacy of the Western Powers to hold Austria in check while executing the Tuscan intervention. The extent to which he consulted his colleagues is not certain, but they and the king promptly squeezed him out. In accepting Gioberti's resignation, Charles Albert wrote as if his constitutional principles involved complete acceptance of the theory of ministerial responsibility:

[61] As the ministers well knew. See Sebastiano Tecchio to Daniel Manin, Mar. 3, 1849, in F. Planat de la Faye, *Documents et pièces authentiques laissés par Daniel Manin* (Paris, 1860), II, 126.

[62] *Relazioni e rapporti finali 1849,* p. 689.

[63] Particularly at the conference of the ministers with Chrzanowsky, Jan. 7, 1849, for which see *Relazioni e rapporti finali 1849,* pp. 1–2, 691–92, 745–46. See also Chiala, *Dabormida,* p. 308, n. 2.

[64] Abercromby to Palmerston, Jan. 25, 1849, *Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Italy,* IV, 74–75, No. 74.

[65] Achille de Rubertis, *Gioberti e la Toscana* (Florence, 1933), pp. 198 ff.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I have informed myself of the opinion of the chamber in order to be able to reply to your desire to make the intervention in Tuscany. This morning I have consulted all the ministers, and I have learned most positively that the deputies declare themselves in the most formal manner against the intervention. Furthermore they have showed me the draft of the address: it is in spirit the most monarchic-constitutional that could be desired. These two facts being established, I have the conviction that if I adhere to the intervention, or if I dissolve the chamber, as has been proposed to me, I would do two things contrary to the constitution, and therefore against my conscience. . . . I have charged General Chiodo to direct the ministry of foreign affairs for the time being.[66]

Charles Albert's real reasons for forcing Gioberti out were two. He disliked him personally and disliked being dominated by a real prime minister—he did not accept the role of Louis XIII with Gioberti as Richelieu. Furthermore, the king opposed the policy of Tuscan intervention; he wanted immediate war.[67]

The Right, whose leaders saw considerable merit in Gioberti's policy, were appalled and dreaded the coming war.[68] No particular member stood out as prime minister after the dismissal of Gioberti. It was Charles Albert himself who was the leader of the Democrats. They were his tools for getting what he most wanted: the chance to get back at the head of the army in order to win the Iron Crown of Lombardy or die in the attempt. Because they enabled him to satisfy this fundamental wish, the king acquiesced in the claims made by the ministry to exercise all those powers which the year before had been carefully restricted to the crown. This ministry professed that they acted simply as the agents of a sovereign parliament to which alone they were responsible. They ostentatiously claimed the power to nominate Chrzanowsky as "responsible general" charged with the effective command of the army. Chrzanowsky was appointed by decision of the ministerial council with the title of *"generale maggiore."*[69] This appointment with this title actually permitted Charles Albert to return to the field as titular commander, something the "reactionary" Alfieri-Perrone ministry had hoped to prevent. The Democrats assumed the power to decide on the declaration of war; the act denouncing the Salasco armistice was signed by the ministers only.[70] Actually the deci-

[66] Massari, III, 409–10.

[67] Vincenzo Gioberti, *Del rinnovamento civile d'Italia* (Paris and Turin, 1851), I, 712–13; comte de Reiset, I, 272–74.

[68] Cavour to Emilio de la Rue, Mar. 1, 1849, in Amédée Bert, ed., *Camillo Benso Cavour: Nouvelles lettres inédites* (Turin, 1889), p. 265; Chiala, *Ricordi di Castelli,* pp. 55–56.

[69] *Relazioni e rapporti finali 1849,* p. 751. Feb. 7 or 8, 1849. The decision was taken at the time La Marmora was minister of war; hence it must have been between February 2 and 9. Chiala (*Dabormida,* pp. 299–301) describes this conference correctly as to Chrzanowsky's appointment but states incorrectly that the decision to resume war was taken at this time. Here Chiala's account seems to be confused with that of the meeting of February 17.

[70] *Atti del parlamento subalpino,* V, *Prima sessione del 1849, Documenti,* pp. 103–104. *Cf.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion was made only after consultation with the king, and in deference to his religious superstitions the outbreak of hostilities was delayed two days lest it fall upon a holiday.[71] The ministers even sent Carlo Cadorna, one of their members, as a kind of deputy on mission to keep a watchful eye on the reactionary generals who, they suspected, might wish to throw the game.[72]

The Democratic ministry in fact held back from exercising, or pretending to exercise, one power only: the decision on the strategy of the campaign. This was ostensibly left to Chrzanowsky alone. The ministers later professed to have had no knowledge and no responsibility for the strategy of the campaign, alleging constitutional scruples.[73] In fact they knew his plan of campaign and approved it.[74] But they carefully avoided taking responsibility for it. Chrzanowsky planned a campaign that would deliver Lombardy, but he recognized that Piedmont's resources were utterly inadequate for going beyond the Mincio.[75] Such an abandonment of Venetia as the plan of Chrzanowsky involved would have appeared strange if responsibility for it had been openly acknowledged by the "Democrats," who had been so vociferous in denouncing the abandonment of Venetia involved in the Anglo-French mediation scheme which the conservatives had defended.[76]

This third period was brought to an abrupt end by the defeat at Novara on March 23 and the abdication of Charles Albert that same night. It marked an enormous shift to the left and the apparent triumph of the theory of parliamentary government. When the members of the Democratic ministry spoke of the constitution they had in mind a body of doctrines utterly different from those of the royal councillors who had drafted the constitution the year before. Within one year the theory of government under the *Statuto* had evolved from the concept of monarchic predominance to the concept of parliamentary supremacy.

The aftermath, the system of government in the first months of the reign of Victor Emmanuel II, was definitely a reaction against the theories and practices of the Democrats. Charles Albert by his abdication left to his son a

Karl Freiherr von Schönhals, *Erinnerungen eines österreichischen Veteranen* (5th ed., Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1852), II, 185.

[71] "Risposte dei cessati ministri . . .," *Relazioni e rapporti finali 1849*, pp. 764–65.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 769; Carlo Cadorna, "Lettera sui fatti di Novara," in Angelo Brofferio, *Storia del parlamento subalpino*, II (Milan, 1866), p. c.

[73] "Risposte dei cessati ministri . . .," *Relazioni e rapporti finali 1849*, pp. 754–55; Agostino Chiodo's statement, *ibid.*, p. 697.

[74] Commission Report, Mar. 8, 1850, *ibid.*, pp. 710–11.

[75] Report of Chrzanowsky, Mar. 29, 1850, *ibid.*, pp. 790–91.

[76] The ministry hoped for the mediation of President Louis Napoleon in case the army reached the Mincio. See Carlo Pagani, "La missione di Francesco Arese a Parigi nel 1849 in un carteggio inedito," *Nuova Antologia*, CCCV (December, 1922), 210. It is not clear that Tecchio, a Venetian, knew of this.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

broken and dispirited army, a country torn by civil strife, a chamber full of Democrats who could explain the defeat of Novara only in terms of treason to the national cause by reactionary militarists. The chamber, as soon as it learned of the new armistice with Austria, denounced it as unconstitutional and threatened to impeach any minister who would execute it.[77] Some of its leaders skipped out to Genoa and organized an armed rebellion, charging that the ministers of the new king had betrayed the national cause.[78]

Only with the greatest difficulty was Victor Emmanuel II able to some degree to re-establish the authority and influence of the crown. He prorogued parliament and then dissolved it.[79] He recognized the impossibility of continuing the war against Austria and made peace on the basis of the territorial *status quo ante bellum,* annulling the annexations ratified by parliament in 1848. His policy of peace was bitterly opposed by the Democrats. They had been able, in their term of office, to make appointments among the syndics and with local support kept up a struggle against the king's policy.[80] The Treaty of Milan was approved by parliament only after the king's personal appeal in the proclamation of Moncalieri for a chamber which would support his policy and the employment in certain instances of the provincial intendants to turn out a favorable vote. This was the original precedent for the manipulation of parliamentary elections in Italy by the prefects. Cavour defended the ministry's action at this time, alleging that it was a customary part of parliamentary government.[81]

Victor Emmanuel II indeed, in the first year of his reign, accomplished a great deal to re-establish the authority and influence of the crown. But it never regained the pristine purity of monarchic predominance envisaged in the original *Statuto.*[82]

The foundations for the liberal constitutional system which developed in Piedmont in the period of Cavour were laid in the first year of operation of the *Statuto.* They came, however, not by design but by default. It was the utter

[77] Mar. 27, 1849. *Atti del parlamento subalpino,* VI, *Prima sessione del 1849, Discussioni della Camera dei deputati,* pp. 575–88; Tavallini, I, 96–99.

[78] Alfonso Ferrero della Marmora, *Un episodio del Risorgimento italiano* (Florence, 1875), pp. 26 ff.; Emanuele Celesia, *Della rivoluzione di Genova nell'aprile 1849* ("Italia," 1850), pp. 7–9.

[79] *Atti del parlamento subalpino,* VI, 598–99.

[80] Tavallini, I, 102; Nicomede Bianchi, *Storia documentata delle diplomazia europea in Italia,* VI (Turin and Naples, 1869), 135. There are some very interesting facts regarding the opposition to Victor Emmanuel II and his ministers in the spring and summer of 1849 in the article by Adolfo Colombo, "Gli albori del regno di Vittorio Emanuele II secondo nuovi documenti," *Rass. stor. del Risorgimento,* XXIII (October, November, 1936), 1327–68, 1451–1502.

[81] Arbib, I, 376.

[82] After Victor Emmanuel II's tour in the field in 1866 the problem of squaring article 5 of the *Statuto* with responsibility bobbed up again. This time the ministry solved it by providing for a commander-in-chief with full responsibility except for such times as the king would personally assume command (Racioppi and Brunelli, I, 256).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

failure of Charles Albert to make proper use of his military and diplomatic opportunities in 1848 that discredited completely in Piedmont the system of government so much like that of Prussia. Sidney Sonnino might have pondered this fact when he called for a return to the system of an executive independent of parliamentary control. The difference between the House of Savoy and the House of Hohenzollern in the middle of the nineteenth century was not in ambition, intent, or conception. William I was a successful military commander and transmitted to his heirs a monarchical constitution unmodified by the intrusion of western theories of ministerial responsibility. Charles Albert was not a successful general. He granted a monarchical constitution and by his own ineptness enormously facilitated its transformation into a liberal, parliamentary system.

Washington, D. C.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some Observations on Contemporary Historical Theory

CHESTER MCARTHUR DESTLER

THIS paper is offered as a contribution to the increasing consideration being given to historical theory and practice in the United States. The interest that the discussion of this subject has attracted, recently, derives in part from the enthusiasm that any challenge to tradition is apt to engender. As historians we know that past advances in our craft—as in science, painting, and music—have been initiated largely "by individuals who freed themselves from the bonds of tradition and custom wherever they found" these "hampering their own powers of reflection, observation and construction."[1] The fame of such innovators in our craft as Frederick Jackson Turner, James Harvey Robinson, and Charles A. Beard, not to mention some of our contemporaries, is fresh among us. Added to the presumption that they have created in favor of any bold attack upon authority and traditionalism in history, there has developed among some historians in this country a conviction that in the light of present-day knowledge the scientific pretensions and other assumptions of the Ranke–"Naive Realist"[2] school in Britain and America provide an insufficient basis for the conduct of historical research. Furthermore, recent struggles over domestic reform measures and the continuing international crisis have engendered among some of our fellows a desire for "functional" history that can contribute more largely to the solution of contemporary problems.[3]

[1] John Dewey, *Problems of Men* (New York, 1946), p. 106.

[2] George Haines, "Global War and the Study of History," *Social Forces,* XXII (December, 1943), 144–47.

[3] Clarence P. Gould, "History—A Science?" *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXXII (December, 1945), 375–88; Charles A. Beard, "Grounds for a Reconsideration of Historiography," chap. 1 of *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography,* Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 54 (New York, 1946). Hereafter cited as Bulletin 54. The present "revolt" originated, domestically, from the plea in James Harvey Robinson's *The New History* (New York, 1912), pp. 15, 24, that history be so written that it could further the cause of liberal reform, which Harry Elmer Barnes developed later into a full-fledged demand for a functional history that would "lend itself to . . . pragmatic use" in his *History of Historical Writing* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1937), p. 308. The satirical but witty "Mr. Wells and the New History" which Carl Becker wrote during the post–World War I era of disillusionment may be taken as the American origin of the thesis that historical writing has always been the fruit of selective, subjective interpretation of the past in terms of "present discontents" and each generation's "version of the future." Internal evidence furnished by the early part of this essay suggests, but does not prove, that it was inspired by Benedetto Croce's *History: Its Theory and Practice,* which was published that year (1921) simultaneously in London and New York. Carl Becker, "Mr. Wells and the New History," in *Every Man His Own Historian: Essays on History and Politics* (New York, 1935), pp. 169–72. (This essay was originally

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Few can deny that keen interest has been aroused by the latest revolt from the Ranke dictum that history can and must be written "as it actually happened" (*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*). After brewing for more than a decade, this revolt came to a head in the summer of 1946 with the publication of the Social Science Research Council's Bulletin 54, *Theory and Practice in Historical Study*,[4] and at subsequent sessions on historiography at Cleveland and Philadelphia that it helped to inspire. Stemming from the pioneering of Carl Becker and Charles A. Beard, developing its own dogmas with increasing clarity, the new movement has launched our profession upon a quest for a more adequate and authoritative basis for historical studies in the United States.

At the same time, the candor with which its proponents have revealed their sources of inspiration and stated the theoretical basis of their position has invited a critical evaluation of both and a comparison of their proposals with current trends in the direction and conduct of historical research. To essay this task, in tentative form, is the purpose of this paper. If this needs further justification it can be found in a tenet of the newly emerging school of historical theorists, which teaches that each "history" must be "typed" for its peculiar conceptual combination and social-economic derivation before it can be evaluated or fully understood.[5]

Like the preceding positivist and Ranke schools in the United States, this new historical movement derives its chief inspiration and ideological basis from certain developments on the European continent. In this case the major, if not the initial, impetus has come from the prolific pen of Benedetto Croce. Abysmally and contemptuously ignorant of modern science, Croce is a former positivist historian turned neo-Romanticist philosopher under the influence of Vico, De Sanctis, Marx, and Hegel. As a young man he plunged into the incipient revolt of the nineties against positivism, naturalism, and realism. He emerged an outstanding exponent of the new philosophy which stressed impressionism in the arts, violence as a mode of social action, subjective activism for the individual, the supreme consideration of success in public affairs, and relativity in values. While in this manner he helped lay the intellectual foundations of Italian Fascism—which he supported in its early years—Croce inconsistently embraced Hegel's idealism which identified

published in the *American Historical Review*, XXVI [July, 1921], 641–56.) Leo Gershoy's "Carl Becker on Progress and Power," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, LV (October, 1949), 25–26, asserts but does not prove that pragmatism was the origin of Becker's historical relativism. Gershoy does not note the influence of Croce's presentism on Becker.

[4] See note 3 above.

[5] Charles A. Beard and Alfred Vagts, "Currents of Thought in Historiography," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII (April, 1937), 475–83.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all existence with intellectual activity. Under Hegel's influence he concluded that philosophy and historiography are identical. From this source Croce derived his presentist conception of time, his identification of "*living* history" wholly with the contemporary, a subjective definition of history as simply the thought of the historian, and finally a total repudiation of causation in history.[6]

These views constitute a projection of modified Hegelianism into historiography. They became important for historical practice when Croce turned against Mussolini in Italy and in a series of major historical works sought to demonstrate the validity of his historical theory and to harmonize it with liberal-positivist history. Meanwhile, dissemination of Croce's philosophy of history in Germany and Britain had helped to revive a controversy among professional philosophers on the relativism of knowledge which dated from Wilhelm Dilthey and Francis Herbert Bradley, the English neo-Hegelian. This discussion received independent stimulus from the Bolshevik Revolution and the overthrow of the Second Reich in the world of affairs. Seeming verification of a relativistic and subjective interpretation of human thought came also from Freudian psychology with its emphasis upon irrationality and the unconscious sources of behavior, as well as from the revival of interest in Marxian social theory.[7]

Simultaneously, the appearance of Ernst Cassirer's *Philosophie der symbolische Formen*[8] strengthened the case of those who would identify history with thought. "The world of history is a symbolic universe, not a physical universe," Cassirer told the American public two decades later in *An Essay on Man*.[9]

The resulting discussion of historical theory and method and of the nature of historical knowledge precipitated a veritable crisis in German historiography which Karl Heussi reported in his *Die Krisis des Historismus*.[10] It was this book together with Croce's *History: Its Theory and Practice*[11] that Charles Beard invoked in justifying his own espousal of the new school

[6] *Benedetto Croce: An Autobiography*, trans. from the Italian by R. G. Collingwood (Oxford, 1928), pp. 41–109; H. Wildon Carr, *The Philosophy of Benedetto Croce: The Problem of Art and History* (London, 1928), pp. 189–99; R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 190–204; Benedetto Croce, *Theory and History of Historiography* (London, 1921), pp. 108, 312–14 and *passim:* Croce, *History as the Story of Liberty* (New York, 1941); Carl Becker, "Every Man His Own Historian," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII (January, 1932), 227; Richard V. Burks, "Benedetto Croce (1866—)," in Bernadotte E. Schmitt, ed., *Some Historians of Modern Europe* (Chicago, 1942), pp. 66–95; Maurice Mandelbaum, *The Problem of Historical Knowledge: An Answer to Relativism* (New York, 1938), pp. 39–57; Ernst Cassirer, *An Essay on Man* (New Haven, 1944), p. 178.

[7] Haines, *op. cit.*, p. 145. This article contains a most inclusive statement of the conceptual basis of the new European and American historiography.

[8] 3 vols., Berlin, 1923–29.

[9] P. 201.

[10] Tübingen, 1932.

[11] New York, 1921.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in his presidential address before the American Historical Association, "Written History as an Act of Faith."[12] Meanwhile, the new Continental historiography found a British champion in the person of the late professor of metaphysics at Oxford, R. G. Collingwood, who translated Croce's autobiography for the British public. Collingwood produced also at least one work in formal history[13] while his posthumous *Idea of History*[14] is an important contribution to the literature of the new school. At the same time, Professor J. B. Black of the University of Sheffield accepted subjective historical relativism as a basic concept in historiography.[15]

Warm discussion, particularly of the theory of relativism, caused some shifting of philosophical ground as the defenders of Ranke's *Historismus* were challenged by the new historiographers. Little modification was conceded in their original tenets by the latter group, however, while among them faith waned in continuity as a concept and in the possibility of valid generalizations in historical writing.[16] Perhaps because the first important American historians in sympathy with the movement went directly to Croce for inspiration, as did Carl Becker and Charles A. Beard, the new historical theory was transmitted to our shores in a form not far removed from its initial formulation at his hands.

Instead of continuing to accept the natural sciences as providing the basic model and orientation for historical research and writing, the advocates of the new historical theory urge us now to accept as the ultimate justification and controlling frame of reference for historical studies in the United States certain concepts that derive from metaphysical idealism, Freudian psychology, and Marxism. More specifically, if the dogmas of the "new" historiographers can be derived succinctly from Becker's and Beard's presidential addresses before the American Historical Association, from the introduction and initial chapters of *Theory and Practice in Historical Study,* from Bert Loewenberg's paper and most of the subsequent discussion on historical relativism at the American Historical Association's Cleveland session on historiography, and the paper presented by Pendleton Herring at the conference on American political history at the Pennsylvania Historical Society in January, 1948, we are asked to subscribe to the following creed:[17]

[12] *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX (January, 1934), 219–29. *Cf.* Beard, "That Noble Dream," *ibid.*, XLI (October, 1935), 74–87, for further details.

[13] *Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1923).

[14] Oxford, 1936. *Cf.* Collingwood's *Speculum Mentis* (Oxford, 1924).

[15] *The Art of History* (New York, 1926), pp. 8–9.

[16] *Cf.* Haines, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

[17] Beard, "Written History as an Act of Faith," *loc. cit.;* Beard, "That Noble Dream," *loc. cit.;* Beard and Vagts, *op. cit.;* Becker, *op. cit.;* Bulletin 54; Bert James Loewenberg, "Some Problems Raised by Historical Relativism," American Historical Association meeting, Dec. 28, 1947,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(1) Scientific objectivity is an unattainable goal for historians. Instead, (2) individual subjectivism always has and always will dominate historical research and writing as the controlling factor in the formulation of projects and selection and interpretation of data. The "truth" of the final historical product must always be "relative" to the authors' known biases, their frames of reference, and the values and emotional drives of their unconscious selves. (3) Owing to irreparable gaps in the evidence, the past can never be reconstructed by historians either in its entirety or in its more important segments. (4) The finished product and even the documentary and archaeological raw materials must be regarded as idealistic or symbolical reconstructions of the historian's mind rather than as possessing or representing independent, objective reality. (5) History can never be definitive, despite the individual scholar's dreams. Owing to subjective relativism, (6) it must be rewritten regularly to express the altered viewpoint of succeeding generations and of emerging autonomous, cultural groups within the larger civilization. Furthermore, since the age in which the historian lives supplies his felt wants, unconscious motivations, and much of his admitted value scheme, (7) it is the present and not the past that supplies the controlling frame of relevance for his work. Finally, if Beard and Alfred Vagts have their way, (8) causality will disappear from history as a tool of interpretation.

When thus stated, it can be seen that subjectivist-relativist-presentism, plus the definition of history as thought, and distrust of concepts of causality, continuity, and the possibility of generalization, constitute together the conceptual foundations of the new school of historical theory. In seeking to free American historiography from dependence upon the natural sciences the exponents of the new theory would make history, so reoriented, an appendage to the epistemology produced on the Continent during the twilight days of the same liberal society whose early years gave birth to history as we have known it, an essential adjunct to the informed mind and intelligent action of free men. Along with these tenets there comes a repudiation of the utility of analogies and terminology derived from the biological and physical sciences and even of their methods for historical research, although Beard would retain historical method as we have it. Instead, it is demanded that American historiography develop its own terms of precision and methods of

Cleveland, Ohio; Pendleton Herring, "A Political Scientist Considers the Question," conference on the "Need for a 'New History' of American Political Democracy," Pennsylvania Historical Society, Jan. 22, 1948, reported in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXII (April, 1948), 118–38. An excellent early statement of the developing tenets of the new historiography can be found in John H. Randall, jr., "On Understanding the History of Philosophy," *Journal of Philosophy*, XXXVI (Aug. 17, 1939), 460–74, and in the remarkable rebuttal by Arthur O. Lovejoy, "Present Standpoints and Past History," *ibid.*, XXXVI (Aug. 31, 1939), 477–89.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

research to suit the unique character of its subject matter, while at the same time it is urged that historical investigation be extended to include the widest confines of human culture in the past.[18]

Well, as a contemporary skeptic in our profession might remark, "What of it?" A great deal, we must reply. Whatever the validity of the basic tenets of the new historiography may prove to be when subjected to critical analysis, it must be confessed that they have made a strong appeal to some of our distinguished fellow craftsmen.[19] At the same time, certain professional friends in the social sciences make haste to urge the new historical theories upon us strongly.[20] Why, we may well ask, in view of the fact that neither historians nor social scientists as a whole are noted for a profound erudition in philosophy? Surely they cannot have subjected the new theories to the elaborate and difficult tests that they should receive before they are proffered for general acceptance.

The reasons for the sympathy for the new historiography that has quickened in our midst must be found rather in the experience of the craft and in an intellectual climate created by American pragmatism[21] and recent political experimentalism. Self-criticism within the craft has made the foibles and presumed biases of even our greatest historians a matter of corridor comment at our meetings and of serious discussion in our seminars. The tenacity with which contemporary views on historical events, such as on the causes of the Civil War[22] or on the origins of the First World War,[23] have endured to influence professional historical research and interpretation has been well ventilated in recent years. These developments, together with the nihilistic "debunking" fad of the post–World War I era, and the fact that popular, opinionated histories have come to dominate the publishing market, have led some historians to doubt whether objective, scholarly historical writing is attainable or desirable. The steady revision of older interpretations has been taken as

[18] *Cf.* note 17 above; Haines, *op. cit., passim;* W. Stull Holt, "The Idea of Scientific History in America," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* I (June, 1940), 352–62; A distinction must be made here between the type of historical relativism implicit in Ranke's *Historimus,* which stressed the uniqueness of different civilizations, peoples, and epochs, together with the modification of historical truth and interpretation as the result of new discoveries and more mature understanding, and the aggressive subjectivist-presentist-relativism of the new historiography whose tenets have just been described.

[19] *Cf.* notes 12–18 above, and Roy F. Nichols, "Confusions in Historical Thinking," *Journal of Social Philosophy,* VII (July, 1942), 334–43.

[20] *Cf.* Herring, *op. cit.,* which develops more explicitly the position taken in Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* (Princeton, 1939).

[21] The influence of pragmatism in fostering relativist conceptions has been an important factor in predisposing some American historians to a hasty and uncritical acceptance of a European relativist historiography based upon different premises.

[22] Bulletin 54, p. 85.

[23] Symposium on the "Origins of World War I, Twenty Years After," led by Sidney Fay and Bernadotte Schmitt, American Historical Association meeting, Chicago, Dec. 28–30, 1938.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

evidence of the unattainability of a scientific, definitive history and as proof of the validity of the relativist view. Growing disillusionment with science as the ultimate source of truth and as the benefactor of humanity may have worked to the same end.[24] Thus subjectivism and relativism have gained a foothold in American historiography.

Nevertheless, in the great bulk of professional historical writing and research American historians still adhere in practice to the desirability of objectivity—a basic Ranke concept—while they continue to seek new materials and broader avenues of interpretation that should lead to a fuller measure of historical truth. Furthermore, despite widespread anxiety provoked by the continuing world crisis and an understandable desire on the part of many historians that history should help to resolve it, probably the great bulk of research projects in our field is still initiated without especial regard to the immediate problems of the present.

It is the resulting dichotomy, between continuing practice and a theoretical adherence by some historians to varying degrees of subjectivism, relativism, and presentism, that the new historiography would resolve in favor of a frank adoption of a subjectivist-relativist-presentist philosophy for the future guidance of historical studies in the United States, with the corollary views sketched above. The ideological battle being almost half won, the advocates of the new school insist that our practices should now be made to conform to the new theories, thereby completing a revolution in the orientation of history as an intellectual craft and academic discipline.

At the beginning of an appraisal of the new school it is necessary to identify certain other aspects of its general position. Its development, during the past decade and a half, has been paralleled by an active discussion in philosophical circles in the United States of such matters as historical method and basic theory in which John Dewey has been a leading champion of the presentist-subjectivist-relativist position, with careful support from John Herman Randall, jr., while their positions have been controverted by such a philosopher as Arthur O. Lovejoy, and by Maurice Mandelbaum, who has debated the issues at stake also with Charles Beard while simultaneously keeping abreast of the metaphysical discussion.[25] Thus, it must be conceded that the new his-

[24] James Truslow Adams, "Is Science a Blind Alley?" *Harpers,* CLVI (February, 1928), 265–71, for early recognition by a journalist-historian that science no longer could offer the prospect of the ultimate discovery of a universe completely regulated by law. *Cf.* Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Limitation of Science and the Problem of Social Planning," *Ethics,* LIV (April, 1944), 174–85, for a frank confession that the natural sciences are unable to predict events in their realm with certainty.

[25] Lovejoy, *op. cit.;* Mandelbaum, *Problem of Hist. Knowledge, passim;* Mandelbaum, "Causal Analysis in History," *Jour. Hist. Ideas,* III (January, 1942), 30–50; Mandelbaum, "Arthur O. Lovejoy and the Theory of Historiography," *ibid.,* IX (October, 1948), 412–23.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

toriographers have derived considerable aid and comfort from America's leading pragmatist and from an influential authority in the history of ideas, while at the same time they have paid rather scant attention to the formidable rebuttal of much of their position that has been offered in detail by such figures as Lovejoy and Mandelbaum. Any appraisal of the tenets of the new school, therefore, must take into account the numerous exceptions that have been taken to virtually every principle that it now offers for general acceptance.

Furthermore, certain contradictions can be identified in the general theoretical position of the new historiography. First, how can it be maintained that historians should free themselves from the terminology, analogies, and even the methods derived from other disciplines and at the same time should be urged to accept as the ultimate *raison d'être* of their craft a conceptual frame of reference and a terminology derived originally from somewhat pessimistic extensions of idealist philosophy with a heavy underpinning from Freudian psychology and a dash of Marxism, to which have been added subsequently a pragmatist adaptation of the original Continental historiography.

Secondly, do not the logical implications of subjectivist-relativist-presentism undermine or even destroy completely the force of the new school's appeal that historians should undertake the onerous and time-consuming analysis and interpretation of the entirety of man's past cultural activity and development? Can such an undertaking be justified in terms of the fluctuating, ephemeral problems and needs of a chaotic age of crisis? What validity, furthermore, would the findings have if the new school's tenets are to be accepted at their face value?

In the third place, an attempt to derive a historical theory from an epistemological revolt from modern science must be viewed with caution. Can history be "saved," which some of the new historiographers declare privately to be the issue of the moment, by asking its craftsmen to turn their backs upon the extraordinary insights that science now gives in regard to the nature of the world and the universe in which we live? If historians do so, and embrace thereby a theory of historical meaning that is based even in part upon a prescientific or an antiscientific position, this will not be the least of the reverberations in the intellectual world that result from our era of total wars.

Neither the explosion at Hiroshima nor heartache over its effect upon our humanitarian tradition and the moral position of our republic in the contemporary world should stampede us into such an intellectual *cul-de-sac*. Besides, if we conclude that history's ultimate justification must rest upon philosophy, it would appear to be the better part of wisdom to canvass carefully the varied philosophical systems which are based upon an intimate

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

knowledge of modern science, such as those developed by Samuel Alexander, in *Space, Time and Deity,*[26] and by Arthur O. Lovejoy, and which appear to provide a sound basis for empirical studies.

It is time, however, to subject the central tenets of the new creed to a frank appraisal. Taken by itself, no objection can be raised against the contention that history is thought, a construction of the historian's mind. Of course, as a finished product history is thought. What of it? So are the completed findings of the natural sciences. What is untenable in the new school's position are the deductions made from this definition that history as it happened—or "as actuality," as Beard puts it—possesses no objective existence apart from the intellectual activity of the historian and that this in turn justifies an unlimited subjectivist-relativism in method and interpretation.

Although this view may be congenial to Hegelians, it is so paradoxical that idealists of other schools were never rash enough to maintain it. According to Berkeley, for instance, historical events cannot exist apart from a perceiving mind; but Berkeley held that such experiences follow a fixed order determined by the laws of nature and hence have an existence outside the historian's mind. And just as our new historiographers are more subjective than most subjective idealists, they are more skeptical with regard to cause than most skeptics. Hume had some doubts about the logical basis of causality, but, unlike the most extreme disciples of Croce, he referred his readers to experience to determine cause and effect in specific cases.[27]

It is possible to demonstrate operationally that the natural sciences, whose position as empirical disciplines is equally threatened by the relativist theory, rest upon objective phenomena.[28] A scientific fact may be described as an event or object which will be identified in the same manner by qualified scientists. A reef, once accurately charted by an oceanographer, will be found at that location by other scientists, and practical navigators will avoid it. Or, a planet once identified and located in the heavens can be found readily at the predicted place in the heavens by other astronomers. Conceding that the history which influences men's action is a part of their mental activity, as Croce and his disciples contend, it can be demonstrated without much difficulty that both this and the history that historians investigate and interpret rest upon tangible evidence and a stream of events that exist and existed, respectively, apart from the functioning of the historian's cerebrum.

[26] London, 1920.

[27] David Hume, "An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding," in Edwin A. Burtt, *The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill* (New York, 1939), p. 601.

[28] For a definition of "objective experience," see Wolfgang Koehler, *Gestalt Psychology* (New York, 1947), pp. 20–21.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The evidence of this we find in the documents, in artistic and archaeological remains, and in the data that they supply. Once identified and verified critically, the same primary source can be located and used again and again by successive historians. Or certain archaeological finds will lead scholars to predict others, and facts later verified by further digging. Since we know from our experience that the recording of vital statistics in official records or family Bibles is a regular concomitant of births, weddings, etc., we can accept such verified records from earlier generations as objective evidence that the events noted therein actually occurred as stated. Similarly, our own personal knowledge of the reports, minutes, and correspondence that stem from a wide realm of present-day public, business, civic, and private activities enables us to substantiate the validity for historical research of similar manuscript and documentary records from earlier epochs. The definition of a scientific fact, established empirically, is applicable not only to the raw material from which history is written but also to the data that the documents establish when critically appraised. Such verified evidence is available to successive historians, although as in science, new discoveries of facts and more adequate interpretations of existing data will at times enlarge or modify the meanings originally attributed to the evidence.[29]

Solid support for this position is supplied from the field of philosophy by Arthur O. Lovejoy, who also enables us to reject the presentist conception of time and history that the new historiographers from Croce to Becker, Randall, and Conyers Read rely upon. Lovejoy observed over a decade ago, that the problem raised by them is essentially epistemological, *i.e.,* that it concerns above all what is the nature and validity of historical knowledge. His doctrine of emergence and his representative theory of ideas, which are familiar to philosophers, enable him to demonstrate that the very act of knowing involves a reference to data that transcend the learner. Although he concedes that "the experience of knowing is a present experience," he argues cogently that "the past is *not* present" when the scholar studies historical data.[30] The very act of knowing involves recognition that the resulting historical knowledge discloses or corresponds to something not identical with it in time, place, or numerous other attributes. Such a statement indicates, clearly, that the original events and data embodied in the documents possessed an original existence prior to and independent of the historian's knowledge of them. When the opponents of this position reply that the historian "can never adequately ap-

[29] *Cf.* Louis Gottschalk, "The Historian and the Historical Document," in *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology,* Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 53 (New York, 1945), pp. 10–48.

[30] Mandelbaum, "Lovejoy and the Theory of Historiography," *loc. cit.,* pp. 413–14.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prehend the nature of the past" because he cannot experience it, Lovejoy is able to demonstrate that because knowledge "does not embrace all of the objects, qualities, and events that entered into it," experience and knowledge are distinctly different phenomena and that through the mediating role of ideas it is possible for the historian to know the past.[31] Thus, Lovejoy establishes the separate identities of historical experience and present knowledge while at the same time he re-establishes the temporal character of knowledge upon which the study and knowledge of history depends.

What of the other corollary drawn from the definition of history as thought, namely, that it justifies an unlimited relativism in historical knowledge? This thesis, as we have noted, rests upon the supposed applicability to historical research and writing of Freud's psychology of unconscious motivation and of semi-intellectual rationalization. This is a particularly important contention because some advocates of the new historiography have been obliged to confess that in epistemology the relativist ultimately finds himself trapped by his own logic since, once embarked upon, relativism leads to an infinite regress of relativisms. They find a subjective basis for relativism instead in abnormal psychology: hardly a compliment to their fellows in the historical fraternity. After accepting such subjectivist-relativism as an absolute principle some proponents of the new school such as Charles Beard propose to limit relativism in practice to the finite number of present-day problems and bulwark the whole by reliance upon the currently accepted psychology of learning which emphasizes the problem approach.[32] Neither prop is sufficient to sustain the new theory adequately, the more so since the psychological profession does not accept the extreme claims made by the Freudians for the role of the unconscious. Rationality remains an important, although no longer the sole determinant of behavior.

We have already established the independent, objective basis of historical facts. This applies equally to statements of fact which are open to verification. Thus far our historical knowledge possesses an objective character. What, however, can be said of investigation and interpretation in history? Are they not processes controlled inescapably by presentist-subjectivism? Not necessarily, even if for the sake of discussion we should accept the more sweeping claims of psychoanalysis. The fundamental purpose of its therapy is to replace unconsciously motivated acts by conscious actions through helping the patient to identify the unconscious factors that have influenced his behavior

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 414–15; Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 482–85.
[32] Beard, "Written History as an Act of Faith," *loc. cit.;* Loewenberg, *op. cit.;* Mandelbaum, *Problem of Hist. Knowledge, passim.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and in this way aiding him to reassert rational control over his life.[33] The presumption here is clear that among normal human beings, and most historians can be so classified, the rational consciousness, aided by the subconscious rationality that quickens intuition or insight, and not emotions and conflicts seated in the unconscious can and should be dominant in such activities as research and writing. This does not exclude the possibility that the irrational may exert a secondary influence upon historical scholarship. There is evidence that it has and does. Recognition of this should be an aid to increasing objectivity in historical writing through systematic identification of pertinent irrational factors that produce bias[34] and their consequent subordination to rational restraint.[35]

Further support for rejection of an absolute subjectivist-relativism in historical research can be found in the general field of psychology. The Gestalt psychologists and other important schools in this fascinating but much fragmented discipline unite in the belief that the ability to perceive relationships in configurations of data and between ideas is a characteristic feature of man's mental activity that varies with his degree of intelligence.[36] Although sensitivity to such relationships may result from socially conditioned values and emotions seated in the unconscious, it is equally if not more probable that in historical research such sensitivity originates from the historian's familiarity with existing knowledge and with the important hypotheses in his field of research. However, if I understand the position of these diverse schools of psychology correctly, the perception of relationships in data can also be the autochthonous result, independent of either type of influence, of the functioning of an innate mental capacity that can even be improved in efficiency by practice.[37] Relations between historical facts, then, *may* be perceived by the historian either with complete objectivity or with varying degrees of bias. Here again, to achieve a higher measure of impartiality or objectivity careful

[33] Sigmund Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis* (New York, 1935), p. 377; Karen Horney, *New Ways in Psychoanalysis* (New York, 1939), chap. xvi; Otto Rank, *Will Therapy and Truth and Reality* (New York, 1945), pp. 25–26 and *passim*.

[34] Freud might say that they cannot be identified. Ordinary psychologists would hold that some can be identified readily and others only with great difficulty.

[35] *Cf.* Charles L. Stevenson, *Ethics and Language* (New Haven, 1944), *passim*, for an attempt, not entirely parallel, to do this for philosophy by identifying the emotive meanings of ethical and other philosophical terms, and thus to distinguish the nonrational aspects of discourse from those that are rational.

[36] Koehler, *passim;* C. Spearman, *The Abilities of Man: Their Nature and Measurement* (New York, 1927), pp. 165–221; L. M. Terman, "Intelligence and Its Measurement" (A Symposium), *Journal of Educational Psychology,* XII, 127–28.

[37] Jerome S. Bruner and Cecile C. Goodman, "Value and Need as Organizing Factors in Perception," in Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene C. Hartley, eds., *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York, 1947), pp. 99–108. The authors identify autochthonous as well as socially conditioned behavioral determinants of perception and show how the latter, when influenced by values, lead to distortion. It is plain from their experiment, however, that where values are absent perception occurs with little or no distortion.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

identification of the sources of bias would seem to be in order. Furthermore, it is plain both from actual experience in historical research as well as from psychological knowledge, and again not solely from Gestalt sources, that the perception of new facts relating to a historical figure or situation by the trained historian frequently precipitates fundamental changes in the interpretation that must be given to either because of the new relationships that now become apparent for the first time.[38]

Archimedes' cry, "Eureka!" as the story goes, sprang from the perception of a new set of physical relationships which suggested to him the solution of an unsolved problem in metallurgy. "Eureka!" has been the spontaneous cry of successive generations of scientists and historians whose sudden perception of novel relationships in phenomena has led them to new knowledge and interpretation, although in their experience professional problems that guide research arise from within the data as well as from life experience. It is recognition of this ability to perceive relations between the facts, furthermore, that underlies the currently accepted psychology of learning which John Dewey makes fundamental to his *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry,*[39] a major source relied upon by the new historiographers. It is a poor psychology and logic indeed that would hold this valid for the present but deny its application to study of the records of the past, after their validity as tangible, objective evidence of an objective past has been re-established empirically and by means of Lovejoy's representative theory of ideas.

In interpretation, admittedly, the opportunity for subjective considerations to influence the historian's labors is much greater than it is in simple research, since the temptation to indulge in value judgments apart from the knowledge conveyed by the evidence is ever present. We all know that a high degree of freedom from this source of error was attained by the natural scientists only after they had had the benefit of courageous and farsighted pioneering by a few of their leaders. Although the problem presented in historical writing is greater, subjective influences upon interpretation can be minimized by exact methods and the guidance that available knowledge supplies to the controlled imagination in the formulation of hypotheses and in reconstructing historical situations. Certainly, "the criteria of the validity" of the historian's statements concerning and interpretation of historical events are not derived from his own social milieu, personality, or "the spiritual climate of his age" as Felix Kaufmann has sagely observed.[40]

[38] *Cf.* Max Wertheimer, "The Syllogism and Productive Thinking," in Willis D. Ellis, *A Source Book of Gestalt Psychology* (New York, 1938), p. 278.

[39] New York, 1938.

[40] Felix Kaufmann, *Methodology of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1944), pp. 194–95,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For example, the physical anthropologist is able to reconstruct the form of a prehuman type after subjecting a few skeletal remains to exact measurement, and by taking into consideration the exact character of the site where they were found and other pertinent data. Similarly, an archaeologist is able to reconstruct much of the character of an early culture after making a careful study of its physical remains. In each instance, the test that the scholar must stand is whether or not he adhered to the known facts and their objective relationships and interpreted them in the light of professional knowledge so far as it applies. Similarly, when the historian begins his final task of interpretation, he must adhere to these exacting standards, every lapse from which it is the duty of the reviewers of his final product to expose and the further refinement of which is our mutual obligation.[41]

To those who follow Randall, a cautious member of the new school, in urging that the research projects themselves originate in problems that arise exclusively from perspectives provided not only by the present but also by "the envisaged future," both the subsequent gathering of data and ultimate interpretation are conducted within the frame of reference determined by a present or even a futuristic problem situation to which historical knowledge must be relative. To these students the principal relationship is between the presentist perspective of the historian, so selecting his project and pertinent facts, and the knowledge that results from a research project that is invariably presentist in focus.[42] This accounts for the belief of the new school that history is a variable, that "every man" must necessarily be his "own historian" and for the position, implicit or avowed, that in view of this it is hopeless to expect to develop a reliable body of historical data and interpretation.

On the other hand, the empirical analysis of the facts of history and science made above and Lovejoy's reasoning corroborate in re-establishing the existence of the events of the past independently of the historian's experience and thought. Taken together with the psychologists' belief that a characteristic trait of the human mind is the ability to recognize relationships between data, it is thus possible to assert with confidence that the controlling principle governing the research and writing of the historian is his detection and interpretation of the relationships between the phenomena of an earlier era under consideration, whether or not they are related to the problems of the present.

which also refutes the claim of some relativists that "a historical event is a *product* of the activity of the historian;" Harold Temperley, *Research and Modern History* (London, 1930), pp. 8–10.

[41] Gottschalk, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–62, for a thorough appraisal of other considerations in interpretation or synthesis.

[42] Randall, *op. cit., passim.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The alleged basis for relativism found by European historiographers in the implications of Marxist social theory can be dismissed briefly. Obviously, if Marxist economic determinism is accepted, the particular thought, values, and institutions in vogue in a given society are the immediate products of its economic system and will change as this is altered. All this rests upon the assumed validity of Marxist economico-revolutionary thought which, contrary to Marx's dicta, gained its first stronghold in an agrarian empire just entering upon industrialism, and spreads now, not out of the inexorable processes of mature capitalism, but rather by fifth-column conspiratorial tactics that feed upon the social, spiritual, and economic devastation wrought by total war in Western liberal civilization and in ravaged China alike. Marxism, surely, provides no firm logical ground for a relativist theory of history.

Certain relativist aspects of the presentism urged by the new historiographers have been considered above in the discussion of subjectivism. It is well to recall that presentism, so far as the new historiographers are concerned, originated with the prolific pen of Benedetto Croce, who promptly applied to the theory of history the presentist conception of time that he derived from his philosophical studies. More recently, among American philosophers, John Dewey reinforced Carl Becker's adaptation of Croce's presentism by stating in *Logic* his belief that the sole source of "conceptual material employed in writing history is that of the period in which a history is written. There is no material available for leading principles and hypotheses save that of the historic present. As culture changes, the conceptions that are dominant in a culture change. History is then rewritten."[43] Elsewhere, Dewey adds, "All history is necessarily written from the standpoint of the present, and is, in an inescapable sense, the history not only of the present but of that which is contemporaneously judged to be important in the present."[44] Cited forcefully by the exponent of historical relativism on the Cleveland program of the American Historical Association in December, 1947, this pragmatist presentism gives support to a presentist relativism that stemmed originally from neo-Hegelian and neo-Kantian sources.

Dewey's position, however, is untenable. His statement is merely an attempt to apply to history a general epistemological thesis that he had applied earlier, with great éclat, to all systems of philosophy.[45] It is not difficult to show, from the actual labor and product of research, that this assertion lacks

[43] P. 233.

[44] Quoted by Mandelbaum, "Lovejoy and the Theory of Historiography," *loc. cit.*, p. 420.

[45] Namely, that they are severally the products of their epochs and have developed as rationalizations of the *status quo*. By implication systems of philosophy change as conditions alter. Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York, 1935), pp. 499–500.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

general validity for history. The historical data left, let us say, by the reigns of John and Henry III of England and Philip Augustus of France, have given rise to fruitful hypotheses and important generalizations on such diverse subjects as the nature of feudalism, the character of medieval monarchies of the feudal age, and the position of the papacy.[46] Working hypotheses, fundamental conceptions, and leading principles may be and frequently have been suggested to professional historians by unresolved problems that emerge in the observed relations in the materials as well as by the regnant philosophical systems, world views, avowed systems of value, and objects of policy of the historic epochs upon which they are at work. The considerations that govern the selection of data for historical projects, for the professional craftsman, arise in part at least from the nature of the materials and the extent of available historical knowledge.

This John Dewey overlooked. The rewriting of history will become necessary, then, only where investigation and interpretation have rested predominantly or exclusively upon "leading principles and hypotheses" derived from the authors' own day. Even then, basic revision is called for only when new data is discovered or old evidence is more ably appraised. Edward Gibbon's masterpiece is still the classic work for the centuries between the time of Marcus Aurelius and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, corrected and brought up to date historically by the able editorship of J. B. Bury. What contemporary historian of reputation will demonstrate by preparation of a rival work that either Francis Parkman's *France and England in North America* or Henry Adams' *History of the United States* has been substantially superseded by either later scholarship or simply by the dawn of our mid-century epoch?[47]

If the actual experience of the historical craft invalidates the unqualified presentist relativism asserted by John Dewey, in metaphysics Lovejoy has been able to offer an effective rebuttal to what was, in fact, a philosophical argument. On the basis of his own researches into the history of ideas and by references to archaeology he has shown—what surely the professional historian hardly had to have demonstrated anew—how historical problems arise from the phenomena of earlier "presents" than our own and how research into those epochs can and frequently does legitimately have as its motivating pur-

[46] Achille Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises: periode des Capetiens directs* (Paris, 1892), and *Innocent III* (6 vols., Paris, 1904–1908); Charles H. McIlwain, *High Court of Parliament and Its Supremacy* (New Haven, 1910); William S. McKechnie, *Magna Carta* (2d rev. ed., Glasgow, 1914); Albert F. Pollard, *Evolution of Parliament* (London and New York, 1920).

[47] George Matthew Dutcher, *et al., A Guide to Historical Literature* (New York, 1931), p. 201, 1020, 1093–94.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pose the desire to know more of the life of their people and in this manner to illuminate the genesis and diversity of human thought, institutions, and experience.[48]

Further support for a refutation of the presentist relativism derived from Croce and John Dewey, in the philosophical world, can be drawn from Henri Bergson's and Alfred North Whitehead's assertion that the past is immanent in the present.[49] This fairly obvious assertion furnishes ample philosophical justification for genetic historical studies. That those who would understand the present must know the past is clearly implied.

In historical practice, as in theory, an exclusive presentism is untenable. Whatever his *Logic* may say, John Dewey invokes traditional history elsewhere to validate his generalizations.[50] Intelligent historians, to be sure, draw upon the present and the experience of the recent past, as did Élie Halévy,[51] to gain added insights and working hypotheses for the investigation and interpretation of earlier epochs. The exclusive presentism demanded by the new historiography is another matter. It derives no compulsion from a subjectivism independently founded, mistakenly, in modern psychology or philosophy.

No presentist historian, furthermore, will deny that the facts of the historical past must take precedence when they come in conflict with a hypothesis derived from the present. Once this is conceded, he must admit further that hypotheses can be suggested to the historian by the facts and the factual relations supplied by the record he is studying.

To this limited degree, only, is every man his own historian. Even Dewey concedes, which some of the new historiographers overlook, that each age that produced historical data which later scholars study has already committed them partially to its own standards of importance and proportion by selecting only part of its records for preservation.[52] This admission invalidates further Dewey's sweeping assertion of the validity of exclusive presentism for the guidance of historical research, which is not rehabilitated by the great pragmatist's subsequent attempt to assimilate such past actions to the present by invoking historical continuity whose existence he admits. When we add to this the fact, obvious to our fellows at least, that productive historians are apt to read more books and other materials produced in the epochs of their specialization than they do either of the current historical product or of non-

[48] Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 480–81.

[49] Paul Arthur Schilpp, ed., *The Philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead* (Evanston, 1941), p. 63.

[50] *Problems of Men*, pp. 101, 108, 111, 170.

[51] *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*, II, ix, quoted by C. H. Smith, "Elie Halévy (1870–1937)," in Schmitt, p. 159.

[52] *Logic*, p. 235.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

historical works of their own day, it becomes apparent that the assertion of the validity of an exclusive presentist relativism for historians is slightly ridiculous.[53] An intelligent undergraduate would be almost certain to ask of the presentist-relativist historian, also, "Why teach something that will be so soon superseded?"

A predominant or exclusive presentism is rather the viewpoint of the social sciences whose focus is largely upon contemporary institutions, problems, and theory, for which only pertinent and fragmentary historical data are meaningful. To accept it as the rule for history is to revive in exaggerated form a source of error that Charles H. McIlwain described with great force in his presidential address before the American Historical Association.[54] For the understanding of the totality of any contemporary culture, even, presentism has limited utility. In each culture or civilization there is embedded a large admixture of customs, folkways, beliefs, institutions, and practical methods which derive from varying periods of the past and which operate together with similar elements of contemporary or recent creation.

The past *is* immanent in the present as Bergson and Whitehead maintain. Hence, as soon as it becomes necessary to deal with a new cultural group, as the experience of the United States and Britain in the War of the United Nations revealed, those concerned with policy must immediately familiarize themselves with the history of the culture in question as well as gain whatever insight the social sciences can supply in a necessary effort to understand the mentality and policy of its spokesmen and people.[55] An urgent contemporary need stimulates the inquiry, beyond doubt. However, *if* historians had not already accumulated facts and developed interpretations of the history of the peoples in question beforehand as the result of a more or less systematic exploration of the unknown past, little reliable historical knowledge would have been available for area study projects in our universities or for guidance of the State Department and combined chiefs of staff during the recent struggle.

[53] Gottschalk, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6. In his "The Evaluation of Historical Writings," in Louis R. Wilson, ed., *The Practice of Book Selection* (Chicago, 1940), p. 107, Professor Gottschalk gives aid and comfort to the relativists when he takes the position, first, that the greatest historians of the past "wrote for a purpose" guided by their own "philosophies and standards," and second, that in order "to evaluate their standards" present-day historians must have philosophies and ethical standards of their own. A more generally accepted and surely a more valid rule is that in order to appraise the works of these notables of earlier days it is necessary to understand their "philosophies and standards" and evaluate them in the light of these in addition to verifying the facts that they employed and their interpretations in the light of subsequent research, new materials, and improved methods.

[54] "The Historian's Part in a Changing World," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII (January, 1937), pp. 211–20.

[55] *Cf.* G. N. Clark, *Historical Scholarship and Historical Thought: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at Cambridge on 16 May 1944* (Cambridge, England, 1944), p. 5.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Miss Fola LaFollette, at the Pennsylvania Historical Society's conference on political history in January, 1948, told of how her father and brothers, public men with little opportunity for research on their own behalf, read widely and continuously in available works of history.[56] These books had been written, obviously, with little or no regard for the changing needs and developing policies of "The Wisconsin Idea," but were drawn upon by the LaFollettes for the light that they could cast upon the problems that they confronted in the arena of practical statesmanship. In departments of history, as in departments of literature when new trends in fiction or poetry appear,[57] an inevitable time lag develops between the moment when a need requiring new knowledge or reappraisal of old views develops and the time when the significance of the novel situation for historical scholarship wins awareness in the minds of independent historians or directors of graduate research. Statesmen must act. They can hardly wait for the fruits of research projects initiated after the tardy awakening of historians to the existence of new problems.

For history, then, presentism has limited utility. As an exclusive standard of relevance it acts as a distorting factor, both upon chronology and upon interpretation, through progressive elimination of data from consideration in order to serve the purposes of presentist hypotheses as the epoch under consideration increases in antiquity.[58] What shall we think of the adequacy of a recent presentist text in the history of the United States—much of whose contemporary religious and political institutions, basic economic conceptions, and underlying social theory date from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries—which devotes hardly a chapter to the colonial era? It was in the colonial period, be it remembered, that the basic patterns of American culture were elaborated from a fusion of European and indigenous elements!

Even more pertinent to the question at issue is the recent review of the framing of the Federal Constitution by Carl Van Doren. His book, *The Great Rehearsal,* written in the interest of world federalism today finds it necessary in promoting this to discard the broad and fertile knowledge that we now possess of the controlling motives of the actors in the Convention and the unique circumstances that produced that great event for an oversimplified, highly personalized account.[59] The former work, with its presentist approach, emphasizes the importance of the issue presented to professional historians by their growing neglect of the first half of American history. This Carl Bridenbaugh developed ably in his recent paper on the subject. Speaking

[56] Remarks, Jan. 23, 1948.
[57] Henry S. Canby, *American Memoir* (Boston, 1947), p. 414.
[58] *Cf.* Robert Livingston Schuyler, "Man's Greatest Illusion," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XCII (Mar. 8, 1948), 46–50.
[59] New York, 1948.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the Princeton conference on early American history, as well as for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Mr. Bridenbaugh warns that there is "a grave danger of a fundamental misconception of American processes if we continue to overemphasize the contemporary. American historians cannot afford to ignore their own past or to abdicate the prime office of the historical scholar which is to assume the long-range point of view."[60]

If what is produced by an epoch or historical event is the ultimate measure of its historical importance, as Andrew C. McLaughlin maintained, we must utilize not only our own present but the "past presents" of earlier generations to develop standards of relevance for historical research. Such standards or fruitful concepts derived from the earlier experience of our people, which as historians we employ in varying degree, immediately occur. Such are the contrast between the Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian traditions in this nation, the impact of developing technology, the transfer of culture, emerging loyalties, the growth and functioning of institutions, prevailing ideas and controlling passions, the varying level of the arts and their relation to general culture, the effectiveness of leadership, and comparisons with other cultures and epochs. Similar standards of relevance for the histories of other ages and peoples have been derived from the successive stages in their experience as in the case of medieval France cited above.

If an exclusive presentism must be discarded as valueless and even injurious to the formulation and development of historical projects, historians themselves will do well to regard all theories of absolute relativism as suspect. Whether they are derived from neo-Hegelianism or pragmatism or other metaphysical sources,[61] or from Freud or Marx or science, such absolutist theories all come within the scope of Pitirim A. Sorokin's warning against the nihilistic implications of any thoroughgoing relativist position.[62] The acceptance of subjective relativism, or of Randall's so-called "objective relativism" with its presentist and futuristic hypotheses, will make history especially vulnerable to the renewed activities of pressure groups who would dictate, respectively, the "value theory" that they would have historians employ. The historian as an individual might have his personal preferences, to be sure, but what reply could he make save a purely subjective statement to the keepers of the archives that he wishes to examine if the custodians demand conformity to their value scheme as the price of opening their vaults to the scholar.

Space is wanting to discuss the attendant issues of continuity and causality

[60] Carl Bridenbaugh, "The Neglected First Half of American History," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, LIII (April, 1948), 517.

[61] Mandelbaum, *Problem of Hist. Knowledge, passim.*

[62] *The Crisis of Our Age: The Social and Cultural Outlook* (New York, 1941), pp. 96–97, 116, 119, 144, 152–53, 159–63.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in detail. However, modern psychology's evidence of man's innate ability to perceive relations in data and between ideas strengthens the case for accepting continuity in the abstract at least, and in practice so far as the evidence warrants. Actual continuity in the field of institutions is evinced by Congregationalism in the United States. The continuing petroleum monopoly here[63] and the role of modified mid-nineteenth century Marxism in inspiring contemporary revolutionary movements in Europe and Asia supply other evidence. Although few historians west of the "Iron Curtain" today see a predetermined pattern in the total historical process, the new field of intellectual history and the difficulties of the United Nations suggest that ample evidence of continuity exists in other major segments of past human experience.

As for historical causality, it can rest in general on the development of the subject in *Theory and Practice of Historical Study*.[64] It may be added, however, that contemporary as well as antecedent facts enter into a causal situation.[65] For those familiar with the chain of command in the armed forces who also understand Nazi imperialist objectives and their background it is not difficult to construct and accept a causal interpretation of the Third Reich's occupation of Danzig as the inauguration of the great struggle against the Axis. In this connection, it is well to remember that the tracing of causal relationships is declared to be a primary function of the historian by so prominent a philosopher as Lovejoy.[66]

It is insufficient to reply, as some advocate of the new historiographical school is sure to do, that those who oppose its tenets regard all of the past as of equal value. This does not follow, necessarily. What will be found of value in the historical record by men and women seeking insight into their or other people's culture and its problems will vary with the fluctuations in the foci of intellectual interest and as problems change in character. As observed above, periods in which crises and problems emerge unpredictably over wide areas within a relatively short time require that statesmen, publicists, and other consumers of the historical product must perforce make use of such historical knowledge as has accrued already from the initiation and completion of projects that were motivated earlier by a desire to increase the total of historical knowledge. The situation of those who would apply historical knowledge to

[63] Eugene V. Rostow, *A National Policy for the Oil Industry* (New Haven, 1948), *passim*.

[64] Pp. 110–15, 136–37. *Cf.* Mandelbaum, *Problem of Hist. Knowledge*, chaps. VII–VIII. Also, Mandelbaum, "Causal Analysis in History," *loc. cit.*, pp. 30–50, an able restatement of the case for causality that our relativists somehow overlook. This article is interesting because Mandelbaum discloses Charles Beard's contradictory position on the question.

[65] Mandelbaum's insistence that all causal factors must be contemporary with the event seems equally in error on the other side. *Problem of Hist. Knowledge*, pp. 225–32.

[66] Mandelbaum, "Lovejoy and the Theory of Historiography," *loc. cit.*, pp. 418–19.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new problems or crises parellels that which exists in other fields of knowledge where the fruits of research are drawn upon more or less unpredictably by the practical world of affairs. Pure research, so-called, is as necessary in history to provide a body of constantly widening knowledge to those who would employ it in literature, the arts, industry, and the world of affairs as it is for other academic disciplines.

Some advocates of the new school will contend that they do not adhere to all of the tenets analyzed above. This is true, to a certain degree, since men like John Dewey and J. H. Randall, jr., insist upon the employment of critical methods and upon verifying all hypotheses with reference to the facts. But Randall's insistence that all the facts gathered in a research project must be relative to a project conceived under presentist and futuristic influences opens the door for subjectivist considerations as we have seen above. As an "objective" relativist he is more cautious in his broad contention that the problems and perspective of historical writing are limited by the orientation of contemporary culture than are such subjective relativists as Becker and Beard, who join with him in accepting the exclusive presentist orientation of contemporary culture. Less open to criticism than the aggressive subjective relativists, Randall still fails to perceive that the historian as a craftsman may and frequently does derive perspective from and discover problem situations within the factual record left by the past epoch that he is studying! Furthermore, he is inconsistent in defining and applying his "objective relativism." After stressing its presentist and futurist aspects he accepts as "a clear statement of the *objective relativism* of historical knowledge" a passage by Morris R. Cohen that attributes the variety of perspectives that create an apparent relativism in history to the complexity of the world of reality which as an "objective fact" is so great that it cannot be reproduced in a single account. Then, in a stimulating essay on Ernst "Cassirer's Theory of History as Illustrated in His Treatment of Renaissance Thought," Randall abandons an exclusive presentism in the following sentence: "The closer we can get to the problems of the Renaissance itself, and the farther we can get away from viewing them in terms of problems of a later incidence, the more likely we are to arrive at a genuine historical understanding."[67] Presentism and relativism, however, are the unifying principles of the new school. Agreement on these, it will be observed, carries with it subjectivist implications as to the inevitability of bias—quite apart from any reference to abnormal psychology—in historical writing which even the objective relativists accept.

[67] John H. Randall, jr., review of Morris R. Cohen's *The Meaning of Human History,* in *Jour. Hist. Ideas,* X (April, 1949), 310; Randall, "Cassirer's Theory of History as Illustrated in His Treatment of Renaissance Thought," in Paul A. Schilpp, ed., *The Philosophy of Ernst Cassirer,* "Library of Living Philosophers" series, VI (Evanston, Illinois, 1949), 715.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The caliber of the historical product that may be expected to result from the frank adoption and practice of the new historiography can be seen in the most recent volumes by Charles A. Beard. The last of his studies of the diplomacy of the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt is notable for the zeal with which it develops the familiar views of the well-known relativist, from his isolationism to his antipathy for the great President from Hyde Park. That such a biased and incomplete narrative can be limited in its effects upon lay and scholarly minds by critical scholarship is evinced by the brilliant review of the book by Samuel Eliot Morison, which contains, also, a vigorous summary of the implications of the subjectivist-presentist-relativist school of historiography that is most pertinent to the discussion devoloped above.[68]

It should be remarked, furthermore, that while propagating these ideas for several decades the American relativists have neglected to indicate to prospective converts the intimate relation that the new Continental historiography has borne to the origins of fascism. Possibly most American proponents of the new theory are unaware of this fact despite the warning published by George Harmon Knoles nearly seven years ago.[69] Although the adoption of subjectivist-presentist-relativism as the basic historical theory contributed to the rise of Fascism and Nazism and their conquest of the universities,[70] we are now urged to embrace the new historiography so that Clio's discipline may be made the instrument of counterpropaganda in our contemporary struggle for survival against Moscow.[71] Among our American historical relativists, just as among their Italian and German inspirers earlier, the idea has not occurred apparently that a liberal society and its academic disciplines demonstrate their survival value when they have the faith and the courage to practice their fundamental tenets even in the midst of crisis. Neither did the followers of Croce or Meinecke and Heussi, nor do now those of Becker, Beard, and Read appear able to see in advance that once they have made their cherished theory the acknowledged basis of historical studies, and accepted the principle of control in the interest of unity of belief,[72] they have transformed history into an instrument of propaganda and surrendered it in advance to whatever power group gains control of the Capitol, and have denied to

[68] Samuel Eliot Morison, "Did Roosevelt Start the War?" *Atlantic,* CLXXXII (August, 1948), 91–97.

[69] George Harmon Knoles, "Cultural Forces and the Present Crisis," *Historian,* VI (Autumn, 1943), 25–43.

[70] Burks, *op. cit.,* p. 71 and *passim;* G. A. Borgese, *Goliath: The March of Fascism* (New York, 1937), pp. 198–99, 295–300; conversations by the author with Ernst Cassirer, 1944–45.

[71] Conyers Read, "The Social Responsibilities of the Historian," *Am. Hist. Rev.,* LV (January, 1950), 275–85.

[72] *Ibid.,* p. 284.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minorities the right to invoke in their behalf the facts and interpretations of history as the disinterested arbiter between all elements in a free society.

What is left as a basis for historical operations, if we must discard as unsound the theoretical presuppositions of the new historiography? We have what we had before Croce's system was imported from Europe and what we have been developing in practice ever since: history as an increasingly mature, empirical discipline, ever more capable of deriving from within itself necessary standards of relevance and criticism to direct and evaluate its work, somewhat more sensitive to lapses from the highest professional standards as the result of the agitation of the new school. At the same time, history has remained susceptible of rich stimulation from other disciplines when they produce concepts that prove valid for the substance and genetic method of history. Living in a swiftly changing world, we know, nevertheless, that the experience of humanity in the past, and even in parts of the world today, has included the enjoyment of situations of relative stability which must also be analyzed. "History is not only becoming, it is also being."[73]

The changing meaning of History, which the relativists capitalize, is almost organic in character. It springs primarily from the labors of Clio's craftsmen rather than from the inexorable logic of relativism. It results from new discoveries of material, from the constant increment of verified knowledge and accepted interpretations produced by a steady encroachment upon the unknown by young scholars under the direction of qualified research supervisors and by virtue of the initiative of mature historians. It is the product of new insights derived from the developing sophistication of historical studies and increasing emphasis upon their theoretical aspects. All this informs the perception and guides the judgment of the research scholar and stimulates his imagination which, properly controlled, is essential to the understanding and reconstruction of the past. Supplementing this, to be sure, are new insights derived from the experience of the recent past and the felt needs of the present age, which historians can employ in analysis and interpretation because they live, perforce, two-dimensionally, in the present and in the past.

As a result of the historian's exploration of the unknown and owing to remarkable leadership in developing new fields of research—in which some of our leading relativists have been most fruitful—we have broadened history's subject area enormously. At last, after economic, social, and intellectual history were added to the earlier study of politics and constitutions, a few daring spirits are embracing the whole culture as their province. These trends are

[73] Canby, p. 13.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clearly indicated by the subject distribution of the 540 doctoral dissertations in American history alone that were being developed in our universities in June, 1947. Fifty-seven in the colonial period, 362 in the national period, 116 in state and local history, when classified together by subject, range over nine major headings. Beginning with 167 in social history, which divides in turn into 29 subdivisions (the press with 18, intellectual history with 13, and religion with 17, for example), they embrace economic and political history, external relations (diplomatic and cultural), military and naval history, sectionalism, biography (in which there were 95 projects under at least 15 subheadings), and historiography on which there were 8 projects.[74] Thus, in practice, the study of American history has already approached the all-inclusive coverage that the new historiography advocates as an especial objective of its own.

Here we witness the effects, which are paralleled by similar developments in the European field, of the work of the committee of the American Historical Association on the planning of research,[75] of the influence of great scholars and leading graduate schools, and of the leadership which the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and its *Review* have exerted. Recent important presidential addresses before that body, such as Theodore C. Blegen's "Our Widening Province" and the later paper by William C. Binkley, the "Projects in American History and Culture" sponsored by that Association, and important bibliographical articles in its journal in recent years have all contributed to this end.[76]

In the course of this development, however, certain problems have arisen. There has been an increasing trend toward fragmentation, not only of knowledge but of the historical profession, as specialists in different epochs or in linear segments of history, which range in the economic field to railroading and even entrepreneurial activity, organize for intensive cultivation of their particular specialties. It is to be hoped that the developing interest in intellectual and particularly in cultural history, in the broad and best meaning of that term, will counteract the centrifugal tendencies evident in our midst today.

[74] *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Universities in the United States. June, 1947* (American Historical Association, Washington, 1947). In 1912 the published doctoral dissertations in American history ranged over but four of these fields, with major emphasis upon economic and social history. Charles A. Flagg, *A List of American Doctoral Dissertations Printed in 1912* (Washington, 1913).

[75] Arthur M. Schlesinger *et al.*, *Historical Scholarship in America: Needs and Opportunities* (New York, 1932), *passim*.

[76] *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXXI (June, 1944), 3–20, (March, 1945), 499–522, XXXIII (June, 1946), 3–26, (September, 1946), 237–58, (December, 1946), 391–410, XXXIV (June, 1947), 83–100, (March, 1948), 637–52.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The elevation in the level of abstraction of historical studies, evident in such varied fields as intellectual history, economic history (as theory is drawn upon increasingly), and, recently, in biographical analysis where such a scholar as Richard Hofstadter is attempting to apply, rigorously, the standards of diverse systems of liberal thought as well as psychology and even psychoanalysis to a series of political notables, brings with it the task of providing graduate students with a greater measure of more carefully planned technical training. The problem here is to combine general history with individual student guidance toward special supplementary studies either within the department of history or in fields closely related to an intended project so as to qualify the student for entrance into his intended specialty.[77] A more careful and perhaps formal sifting of advanced students at some stage of their study would seem to be in order to discover those really qualified to enter upon more abstract subjects or those requiring special training.[78]

An additional word may be permitted regarding method, a subject upon which Bulletin 54 of the Social Science Research Council is eloquently silent. The developing abstraction of historical studies and the fragmentation of knowledge alluded to above both suggest that a conscious differentiation in methods must be developed over and above the normal training afforded in the evaluation of manuscripts and the organization and interpretation of material. Long ago Heinrich Richert exploded a widely held conviction in the existence of a single, universally valid scientific method when he discovered that there were a variety of methods employed by scientists the nature of each of which was determined by the character of the problem of inquiry.[79] The same conclusion is arrived at in our day after a study of the methods of science by a contemporary philosopher and logician, F. S. C. Northrop, who applies this principle to the social sciences, and by implication to history.[80]

Systematic identification of the different types of inquiry developed by American historiography, as necessitated by its broadened field of investigation and the increased importance of theoretical considerations in a variety of fields, would seem to be the initial step necessary to determining the feasibility of developing a conscious refinement of diverse methods of procedure. It

[77] Perhaps this can be formalized in a manner patterned after the programs in history and literature that have been developed in a few universities, or by means of departmentally approved courses in alternate or grouped subject areas that would qualify the individual electing them for one or another of the more advanced levels of historical research.

[78] For such fields, possibly, as intellectual history, the history of science, and economic history.

[79] Fred Morrow Fling, "Historical Synthesis," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, IX (October, 1903), 6–7, quoting Richert in the *Vorwort* to *Die Grenzen der naturalwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung*. Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–79, contains a useful summary of Richert's position.

[80] F. S. C. Northrop, *Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities* (New York, 1947), pp. 1–77. Kaufmann, *op. cit., passim*, for a valuable discussion of method in the social sciences with repeated references to problems of historical method.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is a far cry from the simple analysis of materials and the descriptive narrative entailed in the old-fashioned political history to the study, let us say, of the direct and indirect modes of transfer of the concepts and reformist techniques of the Philosophical Radicals of Great Britain to the United States and of the degree to which they were assimilated by the equalitarian humanitarianism of the Middle Period. Such a systematic venture in methods, furthermore, should reveal far more exactly than the random labors of individual scholars the extent to which interpretative concepts and analytical methods developed by other disciplines are applicable to the different fields of history.

As historians we are confronted still with the professional and ethical obligations of a maturing discipline. These bind its practitioners to enlarge the sphere of knowledge and truth without regard to fear or favor while maintaining and refining further the skills and artistry peculiar to our craft. If history is to continue to inform the reason, deepen the sympathies, quicken the imagination, and illumine the path ahead, these obligations must remain paramount to the frightened value schemes and ephemeral conceptions of a passing age of crisis.[81]

Connecticut College, New London

[81] These obligations and functions of the historian must be clearly distinguished from those of the publicist who employs the materials provided by historical research in urging the adoption of a policy or of a view that must be implemented in policy formulation. On occasion historians have become publicists as did Carl Becker in the multiple series of public lectures that distinguished his last years. In the interest of accurate thinking and of differentiation of function it is necessary to distinguish between Becker the historian and Becker the publicist. The same distinction should be applied to Charles A. Beard's varied literary productions. It is not difficult to envisage the possibility that the interest of both men in the role of publicist had much to do with their ardent advocacy of subjectivist-presentist-relativism for history, which by this means, they hoped, could be transformed into an instrument for the promotion of the policies that they championed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Ghost River Caledonia in the Oregon Negotiation of 1818

FREDERICK MERK

IN the closing days of a negotiation in London in 1818 a strange offer was made to the British government by representatives of the American government. It was made confidentially. It was rejected by the British government. It was lost from public sight for one hundred and thirty years thereafter until it was exhumed from the private papers of one of the American negotiators. The offer was to partition the Pacific Northwest by a line that would leave the whole of Puget Sound, Admiralty Inlet, and the Georgian Strait, together with all the territory that is drained by them, on the British North American side of the boundary.

The conference at which the offer was made had been called for the purpose of effecting a general settlement of Anglo-American controversies. It was a peace conference in a sense intended to quiet issues that had led to the War of 1812 or that had grown out of the war and that had not been settled by the Treaty of Ghent. Its agenda included the items of commercial relations, especially the commerce between the United States and the British West Indies; the North Atlantic fisheries; impressment; compensation for slaves carried off by British troops at the end of the war in contravention of the peace treaty; and two territorial problems in the West—the boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, and a conflict of claims in the Pacific Northwest.

The conflict of claims in the Pacific Northwest was one of the newer and less urgent problems of the conference. It was a problem that the war had brought to crystallization. Before the war the United States and England had been rivals in exploration and trade in this distant area, but they had not recognized to each other that they were rivals as to territory. The war had, however, brought this rivalry into the open. Early in the fighting a British war vessel was sent to seize Astoria. Its captain, on arrival, finding the post and its contents in the possession of the British North West Company through a purchase from Astor's partners, had nevertheless made a formal seizure by staging a flag-lowering ceremony. After the war the American government had demanded that, in accordance with the Treaty of Ghent, the flag be restored. The demand had been agreed to by the British government, with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reservations. The result of the seizure and of the negotiations for the restoration was that an issue of sovereignty in the Pacific Northwest was squarely raised, which meant, under the circumstances, a partition problem.

At the conference the plenipotentiaries of the United States were Albert Gallatin and Richard Rush. Gallatin was the head of the mission, and the logical man for the place. One of the ablest American diplomats of his generation, or of any generation, he had become an expert on the problems of the conference from having wrestled with them at Ghent and at the negotiation, held immediately thereafter, which led to the commercial convention of 1815. He had a special competence in the problems of the Pacific Northwest. He had been a member of the Jefferson government which had sent out the Lewis and Clark expedition. He had been in close touch with John Jacob Astor while the Astoria enterprise was unfolding, and he had guarded American Astoria interests at the peace negotiation of 1814.

Richard Rush, the associate of Gallatin, was the resident American minister in London. He was a man of high competence but young in years and in diplomatic experience. He was thus overshadowed in the negotiation by his older colleague, who had once been his chief in the Treasury Department. At the end of the conference, in a document sent to President Monroe, he indicated the part he had taken in the negotiation by a comment that was a mixture of sensitiveness regarding the position he had occupied and admiration for his colleague: "I should add that the discussions on our side were conducted almost exclusively by Mr. Gallatin. Being at the head of the mission, to lead was his privilege, nor could I complain of his using it freely, while he used it so well."[1]

The British delegation consisted of Frederick John Robinson and Henry Goulburn. Both were capable men. Robinson was president of the Board of Trade and a member of the British cabinet. His special province in the negotiation was the problem of commerce. Goulburn was undersecretary of state in the Colonial Office. He was probably the moving spirit in that office, Lord Bathurst, its chief and his personal friend, not being overindustrious. At the conference Goulburn was charged more especially with territorial and boundary issues. In 1814 he had been a member of the British peace delegation at Ghent, where he had first encountered Gallatin. He had been conspicuous at Ghent for his eagerness to impose a punitive peace on the United States and had been bitterly disappointed with the inconclusive treaty which he had

[1] "Notes of the joint negociation at London in 1818—from the unofficial journal of one of the plenipotentiaries" (Richard Rush), James Monroe Papers (Library of Congress), XXVI, fols. 4800–4825 v. This is a document of fifty-two pages consisting chiefly of excerpts from the Rush Journal referred to in note 5 below. See also *ibid.*, XXVII, fols., 4904, 4907. Rush did not disclose the gulf offer to Monroe in these "Notes."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ultimately had to sign. He was the voice at the conference of the North West Company,[2] the aggressive British and Canadian fur-trade group that had acquired Astoria during the war and had continued after the return of peace to control from it the trade and territory of the valley of the Columbia.

The Pacific Northwest partition problem was linked at the conference with that of the boundary east of the mountains. It was so linked as soon as the problem was taken up at the second session. The linking was at the suggestion of the British, who hoped to derive from it advantage east of the mountains. It was acceptable to the Americans, who hoped to derive from it advantage west of the mountains.[3]

The first partition offer was made by the Americans. It was an offer to run the 49th parallel as the boundary from the Lake of the Woods westward to the Pacific Ocean. In American government circles the 49th parallel was believed to be the old northern boundary of Louisiana.[4] It was believed to have become so by agreement of the commissioners appointed by England and France to implement the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713. It had been named, in the Anglo-American negotiation of 1806–1807, as the boundary from the Lake of the Woods "westward as far as the respective territories of the parties extend in that quarter." But because this agreement was part of a convention which in other parts had been unacceptable to Jefferson, the whole had been rejected. The proposal of Gallatin and Rush was to revive the 1807 line and extend it to the Pacific.

To this proposal the British plenipotentiaries replied by inquiring whether the United States claimed the country west of the Stony (*i.e.*, Rocky) Mountains as part of the Louisiana Purchase. The question led to an argument over claims. The Americans, as recorded by Rush in his journal of the negotiation,[5] stated "that the U.S. claimed the Country west of the Stony Mountains both as part of Louisiana and also by right of discovery of and settlement on the Columbia river. They admitted that other nations might have

[2] In the *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* XX (1919), 306–30, are published letters which the North West Company sent Goulburn prior to and during the War of 1812.

[3] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* IV, 381. The British strategy in linking the two issues is analyzed in an article by Joseph Schafer, "British Attitude toward the Oregon Question," in *American Historical Review,* XVI (January, 1911), 277–87. In this article Castlereagh's Oregon policy is characterized by Dr. Schafer as a "baiting" policy. The article was written before the studies by C. K. Webster had demonstrated that the policy of Castlereagh toward the United States after 1815 was essentially conciliatory. See Charles K. Webster, *Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815–1822* (London, 1925).

[4] Gallatin and Rush to Adams, Oct. 20. 1818, *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* IV, 381; *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, 1903–1904), XV, 93–94.

[5] The Journal is among the Albert Gallatin Papers in the New York Historical Society. It appears there in two volumes marked "1, London 1818" and "2, London 1818, British Negotiation (16 Oct. 1818–19 Jan. 1819)." Initially the property of Rush, it was acquired by Gallatin at some later time, probably when he undertook the London negotiation of 1826–27. It will be referred to hereafter as "Rush Journal."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

claims in that quarter, that all of them were vague, but that G.B. could have none whatever south of the 49th degree of latitude."[6]

The British answered with arguments of British discoveries and economic interests in the Pacific Northwest and the rights derived from them. They also made the argument of convenience. Rush recorded:

> It was observed by the B. Plen. that independent of any question of right that boundary [the 49th parallel] was very inconvenient as it intersected the rivers west of the Stony mountains, that a river (meaning it is presumed the Columbia river) would be a much more convenient boundary, that the access for vessels to the mouth of the Columbia river was indispensible for the exportation of the furs purchased in the interior parts of the Country, that the North West Company had formed several establishments on the Columbia river south of the 49th degree of latitude, and that that parallel [the 49th] would fall so far north as to intersect the internal sound called Gulf of Georgia, and leave its entrance north of Cape Flattery exclusively within the U.S. The American Plen. observed on the subject of the settlements that at the time of the war taking place, there was none on the Columbia river but that formed by the Amer., which having been captured must be restored, and that all the establishments of the North West Company were made during and in consequence of the war.[7]

It was ominous that in this discussion waterways were so promptly found to be elements of importance in the partition problem. Waterways are traditional disturbers of partition conferences, and the two named by the British as lying in the path of the 49th parallel—the Gulf of Georgia and the Columbia River—were elements of contention not merely in this negotiation but in four others before an agreement could be made regarding them. The Gulf of Georgia is an arm of the sea that lies between the southern end of Vancouver Island and the mainland. It is a composite of waters. On modern maps it has given way to the names of its components, Strait of Georgia, Admiralty Inlet, and Puget Sound. The whole of it, together with the Strait of Juan de Fuca, its southern outlet to the ocean, would have become, if the proposed American line of the 49th parallel to the ocean had been agreed to by the British, the possession of the United States.

These waters were associated in British minds with triumphs of the empire in diplomacy, discovery, and trade. The Strait of Juan de Fuca was associated with the Nootka affair of 1790, in which the Pitt government had maintained British rights on the northwest coast as against the claims of Spain to exclusive sovereignty in the face of the danger of a general European war. The waters of the Gulf of Georgia were associated with the name of Captain George Vancouver of the British navy, who had explored and sur-

[6] *Ibid.*, 1, see under Aug. 29, 1818.
[7] *Ibid.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

veyed them on the historic voyage of 1792, when he had come to the Pacific Coast to receive restitution from Spain for the Nootka seizures.

The Columbia River, especially the harbor at its mouth, was regarded by the British government as of even greater value than the Gulf of Georgia and as the greatest single territorial asset in the Pacific Northwest. The British government was persuaded by the North West Company that a continued free access to the river was indispensable to the company's successful prosecution of the fur trade of the interior. The limit, therefore, of the territorial concessions the British government was willing to make was that hinted at during the first discussion with Gallatin and Rush—the territory south of the lower Columbia River. The north side the British government was resolved to hold.

But the American government was resolved not to yield the north side. The whole lower river was associated by the American government with American exploits of exploration and colonization. The harbor at the mouth Robert Gray had discovered and the name had been conferred by him. From the interior the river had been first explored by the Lewis and Clark expedition. The lower river had been first colonized by the Pacific Fur Company of New York, which had built Astoria near the mouth and posts subsidiary to it upstream. Between the rights claimed by the Americans on these grounds, and those claimed by the British, no easy adjustment was possible, and the negotiators at that session found none.

At the next session the Americans presented formally for the record the proposal they had made of the line of the 49th parallel to the Pacific. To it they attached, in deference to Spain, which had considerable claims to this coast, a reservation that the partition line merely defined the claims of the United States and England and did not prejudice the rights of other powers. The Americans further proposed that each contracting power reserve for its inhabitants freedom to engage in the trade of that part of the country which the dividing line allotted to the other, and freedom of navigation for its nationals, on the rivers or their branches intersected by the line, from the sources of the branches intersected to the Pacific Ocean.[8]

To this proposal the British, at the fourth session, replied with a counterproposal. For the area between the Lake of the Woods and the Rocky Mountains they accepted the line of the 49th parallel as the boundary. For the area west of the Rocky Mountains they segregated a portion—the portion between the 45th and 49th parallels—as a region to be jointly occupied. This region, with its harbors, bays, rivers and creeks, was to be open for the in-

[8] *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV, 383-84.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

definite future to the nationals of both powers for purposes of trade and commerce. Neither power was there to exercise against the other any sovereign or territorial authority, nor construe it to the prejudice of the rights of other powers. Concerning the territory which lay to the north and to the south of the segregated portion the British proposal was silent.[9]

This offer represented a hardening on the part of the British. They had, in the first discussion, at least hinted that the Columbia River would be a convenient boundary. They now offered no boundary, realizing that an offer of the Columbia River line would be rejected. Instead, for that part of the contested territory which was the very core of the American claim and which contained the vital north and south banks of the lower Columbia, they offered a joint occupation of indefinite duration.

In a forthright statement the Americans rejected the proposal:

> That portion of the article which relates to the country west of the Stony mountains cannot be agreed to in its present shape. The American plenipotentiaries cannot consent to throw in a common stock that part only of the country to which the United States deny the claim of Great Britain, and which lies within the same latitudes as their own territories east of the Stony mountains; thus, also implying the exclusion of their citizens from the trade on the northwest coast of America, (north of 49°) which they have enjoyed without interruption for a number of years, and as early as the British.
>
> Nor are they authorized to agree to expressions implying a renunciation of territorial sovereignty, although perfectly disposed not to insist on an extension of the line of demarcation to that country.[10]

The Americans in turn offered either that the article on the area west of the mountains be altogether omitted, or that it be changed so that all of the region claimed or held by either power there be covered by the joint occupancy.

The second of these alternatives proved acceptable to the British. They drew up a rephrased article which declared all the territory claimed by either power west of the mountains open to the nationals of both powers for purposes of trade and commerce.[11]

By now, however, Gallatin had developed doubts of the advisability, from an American point of view, of agreeing to any joint occupation that would be of indefinite duration. The aggressiveness and turbulence of the North West Company, which dominated the valley of the Columbia, was notorious, and Gallatin had evidently come to fear that the company, behind the screen of an agreement of joint occupation that was without limit of time, would be able to convert the Pacific Northwest into a permanent British hunting pre-

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 391. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 392. [11] *Ibid.*, p. 395.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

serve. On October 16, three days before the scheduled date of the next session of the conference, he sought out Goulburn and proposed that the joint occupation be limited to ten years.

The conversation that ensued, of which Rush kept the following memorandum, reveals not merely the direction of Gallatin's thought, but the hapless state of the negotiation:

> Mr. Gallatin adverting to the boundary article, said that they had already informed the Brit. Plen. that they could not agree to the proposed arrangement respecting the country westward of the Stony Mountains without an express reservation of the claims to it of either party, but he would add, that on closer investigation of the provisions as stated in the last British projet, it appeared to him that they would have the effect of shutting up the country forever to any settlement, or if ever it became settled by Americans those provisions would be incompatible with the exercise of a territorial jurisdiction. In fact, being of a commercial nature, they ought to be temporary; and at all events, if every other subject of the negotiation was left undecided the American Plen. could not agree to this article with a provision making perpetual the arrangement above mentioned. Mr. Goulburn observed that the first part of the article that fixed the boundary as far as the Stony Mountains was to the advantage of America. Mr. Gallatin said that it was always expedient to arrange a subject which had been contested, but no other advantage accrued to the U. States from that part of the article. The boundary thus recognized was theirs of right, and considering in what quarter it lay, could never be altered by the British. Mr. Goulburn having observed that, in that case they would agree only on the slaves article and on the renewal of the [commercial] convention of 1815, Mr. Gallatin said that in that case it did not appear to him worth while to agree to the slaves article, which amounted to nothing . . . There would be nothing left but the renewal of the [commercial]convention, and he regretted that the negotiation had been opened at all, as Mr. Rush had been authorized to agree to that renewal by itself . . .[12]

It was evident from this exchange that the conference was at the point of failure. It had reached agreement on little of its agenda. It had been working under auspices that were none too favorable. The people of England and the United States still nursed animosities against each other that were of old standing and that the war had heightened. The two governments would have found it difficult, even if they had wished, to make to each other the mutual concessions necessary to settle their differences. No careful preparation had been made for the conference either by Lord Castlereagh, the British secretary for foreign affairs, or by J. Q. Adams, the American secretary of state. The conference had been hastily called with little preliminary canvassing of the possibilities of success. Lord Castlereagh, who wished the negotiation to succeed, had started the sessions off in a spirit of mutual good will. He had striven within the British cabinet to smooth the path of the

[12] Rush Journal, 2, see under Oct. 16, 1818.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

negotiators.[13] But he had apparently found among the majority of his colleagues little interest in his own desire for conciliation, and it is doubtful that he would have been able to bring the conference to success even if he had remained in London to watch over it. Early in the deliberations of the conference he was called away to attend the meeting of the European congress at Aix-la-Chapelle. In his absence the bargaining broke down. By October 16 it had reached the impasse that the Gallatin-Goulburn conversation revealed. The closing date of the negotiation was, moreover, near at hand. The American negotiators were under instructions to have the results of their labors in Washington by the third Monday in November, when Congress would assemble.

It was under these circumstances that the American plenipotentiaries, in the hope of rescuing at least the boundary from the bog of failure, on October 19 made their final offer of a line of partition. They made the offer unofficially and confidentially. They did not permit it to appear on the protocol of the negotiation. It is recorded, so far as is known, only in the private journal kept by Rush. The circumstances of the offer, its nature, and the reception given to it by the British, are described by Rush as follows:

> The British Plen. then said that the determination of the American Plen. not to sign the boundary article if the arrangement respecting the territory west of the Stony mountains was made perpetual, had supprised [*sic*] them as apparently inconsistent with what had heretofore passed on the subject, and a limitation in that respect not having been suggested in the amendments proposed at the 6th conference. The Amer. Plen. acknowledged that the proposal of a limitation had been at that time omitted, but they reminded the Brit. Plen. that when the first American article was delivered, the commercial arrangement was limited to such provisions as might without inconvenience be perpetual and connected with a permanent demarcation of the boundary line in that quarter; and that they had expressly stated that with respect to other commercial arrangements, intended principally for the convenience of the British North West traders who had formed establishments within the American claims, they were disposed to agree to them but only for a limited time. The ultimate object of America was to fix the boundary and to make agricultural and permanent settlements. That of G.B. did not seem to go beyond a trade with the natives. She would have no motive therefore to come to an arrangement for the boundary, if that for the trade was made perpetual. The Amer. Plen. on a thorough examination of the article proposed by the Brit. Plen. had become satisfied of this and that their agreeing to it would either be tantamount to a renunciation on the part of the U.S. to their claim to the territory, or be followed by collisions on that subject. If the British Plen. were disposed to fix the line, they [the Americans] would modify their first proposal so that, after having (along the parallel of 49° north latitude) crossed all the waters of the Columbia river, that line should deviate so far southwardly as to leave within the

[13] *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV, 373–79. See also John Harvey Powell, *Richard Rush* (Philadelphia, 1942), p. 123.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

British claim all the waters emptying in the sound called the Gulf of Georgia. If the line could not at this time be agreed on, they would propose either to make no commercial arrangement with respect to the territory west of the Stony mountains, or to limit that arrangement to a period of ten years. If neither of these proposals was acceded to, although the recognition of the boundary line by G.B. along the parallel of 49° as far as the Stony mountains was desirable, they would not purchase it by an acquiescence to the permanent commercial arrangement proposed for the country west of those mountains, and they must decline signing the article altogether. The British Plen. said that they were not prepared to agree to a permanent boundary line, that even by making the Columbia river the line, which the American Plen. had said they could not agree to, many of the North West Company's settlements situated on the left bank of the river would be given up; that they thought however a temporary arrangement preferable to none, and that they would agree to the limitation proposed. It was then agreed that the arrangt. (for the country west of the Stony Mountains) should be thrown in a distinct article, which was drawn & agreed on.[14]

The conference was now virtually over. It adjourned the day after the joint occupation agreement was reached. Its achievements consisted of the joint occupation article, the boundary between the Lake of the Woods and the Stony Mountains, an article on commerce, one on the fisheries, and one on the issue of the captured slaves. These achievements were more nominal than real. The joint occupation article was a mere postponement of a settlement; the boundary between the Lake of the Woods and the Stony Mountains was a reaffirmation in more precise terms of the unratified 1807 line; the article on commerce was a renewal of the commercial convention of 1815, already agreed to before the conference; the fisheries article was a compromise; that on the captured slaves was an agreement to accept the decision of a friendly sovereign. These agreements were ratified by the two governments. The joint occupation agreement was renewed in 1827 for an indefinite period and remained the covenant of the Oregon Country until it was replaced by the partition treaty of 1846.

As for the final American boundary offer, made in the vain hope of averting a joint occupation, it was not precise. It was an offer of all the waters entering the Gulf of Georgia without a definition of what that term meant. The historian seeking a definition is obliged to turn to Vancouver, who named the gulf in 1792, and whose narrative and charts, published in 1798,[15] were still in 1818 the standard authority on that coast. Vancouver had used more than ordinary care in naming and defining the gulf, for this had been part of a ceremony of establishing a claim for his country and of doing honor to his sovereign, George III. He had planned the ceremony to take place on the

[14] Rush Journal, 2, see under Oct. 19, 1818.

[15] Captain George Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World* (London, 1798).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

birthday anniversary of the king. With a detachment of men he landed on the shores of Admiralty Inlet on June 4, 1792, and to the accompaniment of a royal salute from his vessels, he had taken possession of the coast he had been exploring up to the straits of Juan de Fuca;

> likewise all the coast, islands, etc. within the said straits, as well on the northern as on the southern shores; together with those situated in the interior sea we had discovered, extending from the said straits, in various directions, between the northwest, north, east, and southern quarters; which interior sea I have honored with the name of *"THE GULF OF GEORGIA,"* and the continent binding the said gulph, and extending southward to the 45th degree of north latitude with that of *NEW GEORGIA,* in honor of His present Majesty.[16]

On the charts of Vancouver[17] the name, "Gulf of Georgia," appeared in letters of a size which indicate an intention to make it apply to the whole pocket of water lying at an angle to De Fuca Strait, "between the northwest, north, east, and southern quarters." The name is stopped short of Admiralty Inlet and Puget Sound, but this was merely to avoid an overlapping of lettering.

The Gulf of Georgia, thus defined, is rich in harbors. Its southernmost arm, Puget Sound, is especially so. Puget Sound is a veritable cluster of harbors hanging from the stem of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The harbors are of unusual excellence—commodious, deep, and well located. Because they lie far inland they are safe from the storms and swells of the Pacific Ocean. In the Pacific Northwest the only harbors that have much commercial value in their natural state are those that lie inland, such as the ones in Puget Sound or the Bay of San Francisco. The harbors that front on the open ocean are bar harbors, unsafe, unless improved at high cost, for large vessels to enter or to leave, and exposed to the full blast of ocean winds. The quality of the harbors in Puget Sound is evident from a glance at the names of the ports that have grown up about them—Seattle, Tacoma, Olympia, Everett, and Bellingham.

In 1818 the only good harbors on the Pacific side of the continent to which the United States had any defensible claim were the gulf harbors south of 49°. The harbor at the mouth of the Columbia, to which the United States had a strong claim, was a bar harbor. San Francisco Bay was at that time the virtually undisputed possession of Spain. Under the proposal of Gallatin and Rush all the harbors in the gulf would have been given up to the British.

The United States would also have given up territory that lies south of

[16] *Ibid.*, I, 289.
[17] The Gulf of Georgia is shown on two sections of Vancouver's charts.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the 49th parallel—all the territory draining west from the Cascade divide and north from the Columbia River divide into the gulf. That territory includes several river valleys, the Skagit, Stilaquamish, and Snohomish, and the entire basin holding Puget Sound. It includes Mt. Rainier National Park. If the offer of Gallatin and Rush had been accepted, the railroad passes that today admit the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Milwaukee road through the Cascades into the Pacific Northwest would lie astride an international boundary.

An offer such as this constitutes a problem. Why was it made by diplomats of ability and experience? An answer is not found in the instructions prepared for the negotiation by Adams.[18] The Adams instructions are in themselves something of a problem. They make no specification of any boundary line that is to be the limit of American concession west of the mountains. East of the mountains they do specify a limit—the limit of the 49th parallel. They roundly declare, however, in a sentence devoted to the boundary west of the mountains that south of the 49th parallel the British "can have no valid claim upon this continent."[19] To the problem of the offer no answer is found, either, in the private papers of Gallatin, Rush, and Adams, which in so far as they are available give only the offer itself.

In seeking the answer the best procedure is to begin in areas of familiar fact. It is a familiar fact that the American government considered the valley of the Columbia River south of the 49th parallel the greatest territorial prize in the Pacific Northwest. This prize its negotiators were intent on winning, so intent that they were willing to give up, in order to gain it, the Gulf of Georgia and the territory that it drains.

To the Gulf of Georgia and its drainage basin the United States in 1818 had no very strong claim, certainly not as strong a claim as that held by England. The American claim was based chiefly on a voyage Captain Robert Gray, the discoverer of the mouth of the Columbia, had made up the Strait of Juan de Fuca prior to Vancouver's exploration. But Gray could not be shown to have sailed far up the strait, and his achievement was hardly a counterweight to the claim acquired by England through Vancouver's careful exploration and systematic survey of the gulf itself. Nor was the American government in a position, in 1818, to cite, in reinforcement of its own rights north of the Columbia River divide, rights acquired from Spain. These rights were not acquired until 1821. In 1818, moreover, no rights north of the divide could be based safely on grounds of contiguity. The territory that the United States owned east of the Rockies was not yet recognized by England

[18] The instructions are printed in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV, 376–78.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 377.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to extend to the 49th parallel. The northern boundary was one of the problems of the conference.

Gallatin and Rush were apparently conscious of the comparative weakness of the American claim north of the Columbia River divide. At least they created the impression on the British that they were. When, at the time of proposing the 49th parallel, they gave in support of the American claim arguments all of which were Columbia River arguments except the one of Gray's voyage up the strait, the British in their analysis of the case to their government reported that they thought they observed in the Americans "a disposition not to insist pertinaciously on the pretensions which were advanced in their projet of an article."[20]

In 1818, moreover, Americans considered the harbors in the Gulf of Georgia to be less than major stakes of diplomacy. They thought of these harbors as potential naval stations or local ports, but not much more. The gulf harbors have no natural means of communication with any hinterland in territory south of the 49th parallel. They have at their service no mighty river such as the Columbia, which, bar-obstructed though it was, was expected to create in the Pacific Northwest a second New Orleans. Ultimately some of these harbors did become major ports. They developed into entrepôts of a world-wide commerce. They became so largely because railroads gave them overland connection with a continental interior. But in 1818 railroads were a development still in the future. No one dreamed of the impact they would make on modern life.

In the minds of Gallatin and Rush there was another consideration, perhaps the decisive one, in inducing the gulf offer. It was a belief that a river of considerable magnitude flowing into the gulf would be severed by a boundary line drawn along the 49th parallel. This was a problem which the British had raised in general terms as soon as the Americans made their 49th parallel proposal. The objection of the British had been that rivers flowing into the Pacific would be severed by that line, "rivers" meaning the Columbia and, evidently, one flowing into the Gulf of Georgia. Unless this issue could be compromised no agreement of partition was in sight.

It is now known that no rivers of magnitude flow into the Gulf of Georgia south of the 49th parallel. One major river, the Fraser, does have a gulf outlet, but it lies wholly north of the 49th parallel, as was already known in 1818. Several rivers of secondary size flow into the gulf south of 49°. Their outlet, character, and course were in 1818 virtually unknown. The region adjoining the gulf was then an unexplored wilderness.

[20] Robinson and Goulburn to Castlereagh, Sept. 26, 1818, in Public Record Office, Foreign Office, series 5: 138.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One river of great magnitude was believed, however, to rise at the north and to enter the gulf south of 49°. This was the river Caledonia, pictured in impressive length on a recently published map. It was pictured as equaling the Fraser in magnitude, with sources nearly as far north as those of the Fraser, and with an outlet—a forked outlet—far southward, in the latitude of Whidbey's Island, about 48° 40″. The Caledonia was a grossly distorted version of the Skagit River, a minor stream that enters the gulf by a forked outlet south of 49°.

The map on which this river was revealed to the world was a large, folded inlay in a pamphlet published in London in 1817. The pamphlet bore the title *Notice Respecting the Boundary between His Majesty's Possessions in North America and the United States*.[21] It, and its map, were propaganda prepared by the North West Company for the purpose of influencing government policy on two issues then up for decision—the location of the boundary between the Lake of the Woods and the Pacific Ocean and the ending of the violent trade war which the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company were fighting.

The pamphlet was anonymous, but in the text the author gave sufficient information concerning himself to permit him to be identified. He was Simon M'Gillivray,[22] brother of the leading partner of the North West Company and himself a partner. He was the North West Company's agent in its dealings with the government. He had long concerned himself with the problem of the boundary between the Lake of the Woods and the Pacific Ocean. He had served as a witness in London before the negotiators of the abortive boundary agreement of 1807. He was the company's London specialist in the management of the fur trade of the Pacific Northwest. He had directed, prior to and during the War of 1812, the company's successful campaign against Astor in the Columbia valley. He had represented the company's Columbia River interests before the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office during the negotiation of the Treaty of Ghent. After the signature of the treaty he had developed the thesis that Astoria did not need to be restored to the United States under the treaty terms, the post having been acquired by the North West Company through purchase, not capture.[23] In 1817, while on a visit to

[21] This pamphlet is in the Library of Congress and in the Harvard University Library.

[22] On the title page the statement is made that the pamphlet is intended to accompany the *Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries of North America*. Simon M'Gillivray was the author of the latter work. The author also refers (p. 5) to having been present at discussions of the boundary problem in the Anglo-American negotiation of 1806–1807. He refers to having had in his possession at the time an original map by David Thompson of the country between the Lake of the Woods and the source of the Mississippi, which he was asked to bring to the negotiation. The Library of Congress ascribes the authorship of the pamphlet to Simon M'Gillivray.

[23] See "Statement relative to the Columbia river and adjoining Territory on the Western

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New York City, he had learned that the United States sloop of war *Ontario* had been sent to the mouth of the Columbia to assert American rights to Astoria under the treaty. He had raised an alarm with the British minister in Washington and with the governor general in Canada,[24] the consequences of which were a minor diplomatic crisis in London and the subsequent agreement by Lord Castlereagh to restore the American flag to Astoria.

In the *Notice Respecting the Boundary,* M'Gillivray undertook to expose the designs, which, in his opinion, the United States had on the region between the Lake of the Woods and the Pacific Ocean. He made use for this purpose of a map which had appeared in 1816 in the United States, published by the well-known Philadelphia map maker, John Melish.[25] The Melish map was believed in diplomatic circles in Europe and in America, and by M'Gillivray, to be an exhibit of the territorial ambitions of the American government and to be actually government inspired.[26] It fairly exuded American expansionism. It laid down without comment as the boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific shore a line at about 49° 65″, a straight westward projection from the northernmost tip of the Lake of the Woods. Louisiana was outlined by a colored border. It extended northward to the divide between the Missouri and the Saskatchewan at about 52°. It extended westward beyond the Rocky Mountains to the shores of the Pacific. Within Louisiana appeared, neatly included, the Bay of San Francisco. In the area between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean there was printed, as a concession to cartographic accuracy, in inconspicuous type, the sentence: "The Limits of Louisiana in this quarter are undefined."[27] The map seemed to M'Gillivray to demonstrate completely the thesis of the territorial aggressiveness of the American government. It was made a feature of the text of his pamphlet and, in addition, its boundary line at 49° 65″ was superimposed on his own map as a warning to the British public. On his own map the Caledonia River appeared, flung across the path of the 49th parallel.

The appearance of a mysterious river of the magnitude of the Caledonia

coast of the Continent of North America [1815]" in M'Gillivray to Bagot, Nov. 15, 1817, F. O. 5: 123. The "Statement" is printed in full in *Oregon Hist. Quar.,* XX, 254–60.

[24] M'Gillivray to Bagot, Nov. 15, 1817, F. O. 5: 123.

[25] John Melish, *Map of the United States* (1816).

[26] Of the Melish map the Spanish minister to the United States wrote to his government that it was "prepared at the order of this [United States] Government to sustain its pretensions." Philip C. Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands* (Berkeley, 1939), pp. 142, 215–19.

[27] Thomas Jefferson, to whom Melish sent a copy of his map, wrote a number of corrections in a letter of acknowledgment: "On the waters of the Pacific, we can found no claim in right of Louisiana. If we claim that country at all, it must be on Astor's settlement near the mouth of the Columbia, and the principle of the *jus gentium* of America, that when a civilized nation takes possession of the mouth of a river in new country, that possession is considered as including all its waters." See *Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* XV, 93–94.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on a map in a pamphlet of this type raises a question. Was the river a mere error of cartography or a stratagem of propaganda designed to block a boundary settlement unfavorable to the interests of the North West Company? The question is more easily raised than answered. An answer cannot even be given to the question whether M'Gillivray was the compiler of the map he published. Into a map of a region as little explored as was the region adjacent to the Gulf of Georgia genuine errors creep easily enough. The forked outlet of the mysterious river may mean that it was a confusion of the Fraser. Or it may mean that it was a confusion of the Skagit, of whose lower course fur traders may have had some knowledge. The upper course of the Caledonia is comparable to the great eastern confluent of the Fraser, Thompson River. On the upper Caledonia a North West Company fort is shown, which could be none other than Kamloops of the Thompson.

Yet the Thompson was well known, in North West Company circles, to be a tributary of the Fraser. It was clearly so shown on the great manuscript map of David Thompson, completed in 1813–14, which hung on the walls of the North West Company headquarters at Fort William.[28] And on M'Gillivray's map the Fraser appears in place, with a full complement of tributaries and an outlet into the gulf in a location that is correct. It is clear that M'Gillivray feared that his government might consent to a division of the Oregon Country at the line of the 49th parallel. He had some inkling that such a division was under consideration from having been a witness at the abortive boundary negotiation of 1806–1807. He professed to fear that his government might adopt even the line of the Melish map at 49° 65′.[29] His pamphlet was designed to stiffen British resistance to any line that would interfere with the activities of his company in the lower Columbia valley. His purpose would undoubtedly be served by the appearance on a map of a great river, thrown across the path of the 49th parallel, and the conjecture may not be unwarranted that the Caledonia River sprang from his mind to meet this purpose.

Whatever the genesis of the Caledonia River, the fact that such a river had appeared on a North West Company map was enough to give it authenticity in the eyes of cartographers. The North West Company was the most competent authority in the world on the geography of that part of North

[28] The Thompson map is published in *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America*, ed. by Joseph B. Tyrrell (Toronto, 1916), map pocket; also in *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, ed. by Elliott Coues (New York, 1897), III, map pocket. The existence and the accuracy of this map were well known to M'Gillivray. That the Fraser was sometimes called the "New Caledonia," was reported in 1824 by Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company. See Frederick Merk, ed., *Fur Trade and Empire: Sir George Simpson's Journal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 73, 116.

[29] M'Gillivray, *Notice Respecting the Boundary*, p. 8.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

America. The genuineness of the river was accepted without question during the negotiation of 1818, and for seven or eight years thereafter. Aaron Arrowsmith, the greatest of the English map makers of his day, on his *Map exhibiting all the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America,* in the edition marked, "1795 Additions to 1811. 1818,"[30] reproduced the Caledonia River just as it had appeared on the M'Gillivray map. Other English cartographers, as well as French, Belgian, and American, in publications of later date did the same.[31] It is likely that not only the M'Gillivray map but also the Arrowsmith edition of 1818 was available in London in the autumn of 1818 when the Gallatin-Rush proposal was made.

If the Caledonia River was a stratagem designed to add to the difficulties of a boundary settlement at the line of the 49th parallel, it was a success. It increased the determination of the British against that line, and it induced Gallatin and Rush to offer to deflect that line sufficiently southward, after the waters of the Columbia had been passed, to leave a crucial area south of 49° within British territory. In diplomacy a concession once offered is a commitment. It is a commitment even if offered informally and rejected offhand in an unsuccessful negotiation. The gulf offer was such a commitment. It could not, since it was informally made, be honorably recorded by the British nor openly exploited by them in later negotiations. And it was not. But it was probably stored in the memories of the British negotiators, Robinson and Goulburn, and these two were still, in the years of the Oregon crisis, high in the service of the British government. In the meantime it was an element in American deliberations.

In 1826 the American and British governments undertook a new general negotiation in London for the settlement of their differences. They had been unable to reach an agreement in the intervening Rush and King negotiations. Gallatin was invited to undertake the new mission and agreed to become resident minister in London for the purpose. Before his departure he visited Washington to discuss the agenda issues with Clay, the Secretary of State, and with John Q. Adams, the President. The boundary west of the moun-

[30] The 1818 edition of this map may be found in the William L. Clements Library and in the Henry E. Huntington Library. I am under obligation to the staffs of these libraries, also to W. L. G. Joerg of the National Archives and to Lloyd A. Brown of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore for aid in the making of this study.

[31] See map by "Le Chev[r] Lapie Géographe," in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, de La Géographie, de L'Histoire,* X (1821), p. 5; James Wyld, *Map of North America,* June 1, 1823; H. S. Tanner, *Map of North America,* improved to 1825; Hippolyte Ode, *Atlas Universel de Géographie* (Bruxelles, 1827). The unreality of the Caledonia River was revealed first to the Hudson's Bay Company at the end of 1824 by the trader, James MacMillan, who had been sent by Governor Simpson to explore the lower course of the Fraser. The information he gave was relayed to the British government in December, 1825. See Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire,* 113–17, 248–50. See also, 19 Cong. 1 sess., *House Report* No. 35, p. 24. The river disappeared from Arrowsmith maps thereafter.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tains was again to be one of the issues. Realizing that the gulf offer, made in 1818, would be remembered in Foreign Office circles in London, Gallatin suggested to Clay that authority be given him to renew it. He wished authority for an even wider offer. The United States, he wrote Clay, could "abandon without inconvenience our right to the strip of land watered by the Caledonia river, & the other smaller streams that empty into the Gulf of Georgia or streights of Fuca,"[32] if in return the British government could be induced to give up all the valley of the Columbia lying south of 49°. The proposal to abandon the streams that enter into the "streights of Fuca" was new.

On returning from his Washington conferences Gallatin gathered, in the city of New York, information regarding the territory which would be abandoned by the United States if his suggestions were adopted. The person to whom he turned was Ramsay Crooks, an agent of Astor, who had been upon the Columbia in 1812 as a partner in the Astoria enterprise. Crooks was perhaps the best informed American regarding the lower Columbia valley within reach. But regarding the area north of the divide of the Columbia he could hardly have had first-hand information. He had been at Astoria only seven weeks in 1812, much of the time recovering from an exhausting overland journey to the Columbia, and he had never been in the region adjacent to the Gulf of Georgia. From him Gallatin learned that:

> The country north & west of the Columbia extending north to the 49th degree of latitude and west to the sea is extremely worthless; along the sea shore rocky & poor, with little other timber than pine and hemlock, farther inland sandy and destitute of timber, a very small portion of the whole fit for cultivation, and in the meanwhile affording hardly any furs.[33]

By this information Gallatin was strengthened, as he wrote Clay in forwarding it, in the belief that the United States could abandon the northern region "without inconvenience."[34]

If Clay was persuaded by Gallatin, not so the President. The President was ever, especially as regards Britain, a less accommodating spirit than Gallatin. The instructions sent Gallatin were to hold out for the line of the 49th parallel to the Pacific Ocean. "This is our ultimatum, and you may so announce it. We can consent to no other line more favorable to Great Britain."[35] South of that line no concessions were to be made save those of navigation on the Columbia and any of its branches that the line might intersect.

[32] Gallatin to Clay, June 19, 1826, England Dispatches, XXXIII, U. S. Department of State.

[33] *Ibid.* Readers acquainted with the country described here will be surprised at the characterization of it as "destitute of timber." It was a vast forest of Douglas fir and red cedar, and it still is, in large stretches, especially in the Olympic Mountains.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Clay to Gallatin, June 19, 1826, *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, VI, 644–45.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gallatin protested against the restrictiveness of these and his other instructions both to the President and to Clay. He had been told by the President while the question of his acceptance of the mission was still under discussion that he might write his own instructions. Of this he reminded the President: "Without taking literally what you said . . . I understood that it was intended to leave me sufficient latitude and discretion to enable me to avail myself of circumstances and to give every chance of success to the mission."[36] To Clay Gallatin wrote in greater detail.

> The parallel of the 49th degree of North latitude will intersect the Caledonia river a short distance above its mouth, leaving the mouth to the United States, and almost the whole course of the river to Great Britain. This renders it improbable that she will accede to our proposed line without modification. A deviation not greater than what may be sufficient to give them the mouth of that river would be of no importance to the United States, and might facilitate an arrangement. The two Governments being in some degree committed by the respective rejection of the line proposed by each, the pride of both may be saved by a small alteration of the line; and this consideration is in practice not to be altogether disregarded.[37]

But the President was adamant. At his direction a letter was sent by Clay to Gallatin in which the comment was made on the information derived from Crooks that it added little to what was previously possessed. The letter continued:

> If the land on the Northwest Coast, between the mouth of the Columbia River and the parallel of 49 be bad, and, therefore, we should lose but little in relinquishing it, the same [consideration] will apply to the British. The President cannot consent to vary the line proposed in your instructions.[38]

A second, half-angry letter of protest was sent by Gallatin to the President to no avail.[39] He was obliged to depart for London shorn of the authority to make any territorial concessions to the British south of 49°.

[36] Gallatin to Adams, June 20, 1826, *Writings of Albert Gallatin,* ed. by Henry Adams (Philadelphia, 1879), II, 307.

[37] Gallatin to Clay, June 29, 1826, *ibid.,* p. 312.

[38] Clay to Gallatin, June 23, 1826, *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* VI, 646.

[39] Gallatin to Adams, June 30, 1826, *Writings of Albert Gallatin,* II, 319. See also Adams to Clay, July 5, 1826, Henry Clay Papers, Library of Congress, VII, 1104. The President was inflexible on the issue partly because he was himself not free to agree to concessions. He and Clay were beset in Congress by an opposition as virulent as any American president has ever faced—the followers of Jackson. An agreement on his part to any territorial concession to the hated British would have been used to his destruction and Clay's. This the President later wrote Gallatin, after he had been informed that no boundary agreement on the basis of the 49th parallel could be obtained from the British. The President wrote: "One inch of ground yielded on the North-West coast, one step backward from the claim to the navigation of the St. Lawrence, one hairs-breadth of compromise upon the article of impressment, would be certain to meet the reprobation of the Senate. In this temper of the parties, all we can hope to accomplish will be to adjourn controversies which we cannot adjust, and say to Britain, as the Abbe Bernis said to Cardinal Fleuri, *"Monseigneur, j'attendrai."* See *Writings of Albert Gallatin,* II, 368.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The restrictions thus imposed on Gallatin proved less hampering in the subsequent negotiation than had been anticipated by him. The gap between himself and the British negotiators on the boundary was so wide that a renewal of the offer of 1818, even in the expanded form which he had proposed to Clay, would clearly have been unavailing. George Canning, head of the British Foreign Office in 1826–27, believed that a valuable commerce would some day develop between the Pacific Northwest and China, of which the British settlements on the Columbia would become the center.[40] He was determined that the British hold on at least the north bank of the Columbia should be retained. The Hudson's Bay Company, successor to the North West Company, was a power in the government. The company insisted that it could not maintain the position it had built up for Britain in the Pacific Northwest if the Columbia River passed entirely under American control.[41] Canning was no conciliator of the United States. On his death in 1827 he was characterized by J. Q. Adams, with some degree of truth, as "an implacable and rancorous enemy of the United States."[42] He was annoyed with the American government because of the unilateral announcement it had made of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, and because of the congressional publication in 1826, while the Oregon negotiation in London was in progress, of the aggressive report of the Baylies Committee.[43] The negotiation resulted, therefore, in no other Oregon agreement than the renewal of the joint occupation for an indefinite period subject to its termination on a year's notice by either party.

For a decade and a half after that agreement was ratified (in 1828) no new Oregon negotiation was undertaken. The partition issue, and its adjunct, the offer of 1818, remained dormant in the diplomacy of the two states. Elsewhere, however, dynamic forces were keeping the issue alive. American pioneers moved in increasing numbers to Oregon; American expansionists, in and out of Congress, demanded the whole Oregon Country, and in 1844 they elected their candidate President. By 1845 the issue had reached the crisis stage in Anglo-American relations and had become a menace to peace.

[40] Canning to Liverpool, June 24, 1826, *Some Official Correspondence of George Canning*, ed. by Edward J. Stapleton (London, 1887), II, 62. On July 7, 1826, Canning wrote to Liverpool, "We cannot yet enter into this trade, on account of the monopoly of the E. I. Cy. But ten years hence that monopoly will cease; and though at that period neither you nor I shall be where we are to answer for our deeds, I should not like to leave my name affixed to an instrument by which England would have foregone the advantages of an immense direct intercourse between China and what may be, if we resolve not to yield them up, her boundless establishments on the N.W. Coast of America." *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[41] Simpson to Addington, Jan. 5, 1826, in Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 261–66.

[42] John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs*, ed. by Charles F. Adams (Philadelphia, 1874–77), VII, 328.

[43] Gallatin to Clay, Nov. 27, 1826, *Writings of Albert Gallatin*, II, 342–44. The Baylies Report is in 19 Cong. 1 sess., *House Report* No. 35.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At the same time the conceptions shaping the Oregon issue were undergoing important change. The value of the Columbia valley was being reassessed. In the area north of the Columbia River the Hudson's Bay Company still held complete control. But it no longer drew much profit from the fur catch. It no longer clutched the lower Columbia with the old determination. It had shifted its base from the north bank of the river to Vancouver Island as a means of removing its valuable stores from the reach of the hostile pioneers south of the river.[44] A more realistic view was being taken both in England and in the United States regarding the value of the harbor at the mouth of the Columbia, and the potentialities of the river as a route of communication with the interior. The harbors in the Gulf of Georgia were also being reappraised. Their great potentialities were coming to be recognized by Americans in the new railroad age. The American claim to a share in these harbors had, in the meantime, been strengthened by two treaties. One of these had transferred Spain's rights north of 42° to the United States; the other, with England, had reinforced American rights of contiguity to the region of the harbors by establishing the 49th parallel as the boundary east of the Rocky Mountains.

In England new conditions shaped the partition issue. The government was faced with the disruptive problem of the repeal of the Corn Laws as a result of crop failure in Ireland. It was eager to avoid the danger of a clash with the United States over the Oregon issue. The secretary for foreign affairs was Lord Aberdeen, a lover of peace, eager especially for amicable relations with the United States. As early as 1844 he had become persuaded by the American minister in England that a reasonable partition line would be the 49th parallel to the Strait of Georgia and from that point the channel of the strait and of Juan de Fuca Strait to the sea.[45]

But opposition to this concession had been made in the cabinet by Peel, the Prime Minister. Peel wished Aberdeen to propose, instead of concession, arbitration of the Oregon issue, even though it was expected this would be rejected by the American government. Peel would have replied to American bluster by sending a British warship to the mouth of the Columbia.[46] While such division of counsel tied the cabinet the crisis heightened.

On an important issue in foreign policy a British prime minister does not lightly put himself at the head of an opposition to the wishes of his secretary for foreign affairs. Why was it that on this issue Peel put himself at the head

[44] Frederick Merk, "Oregon Pioneers and the Boundary," in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX (July, 1924), 691–99.
[45] Aberdeen to Pakenham, Mar. 4, 1844, Aberdeen MSS., British Museum.
[46] Peel to Aberdeen, Sept. 28, 1844, Peel MSS., British Museum.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of an opposition to Aberdeen? The answer is probably in part the fear of partisan clamor that would be raised in Parliament if the government made to the United States concessions of territory and position which for more than a quarter of a century successive British governments had refused. Yet Peel was not a person to be deterred by fear of partisan clamor from a course of action he earnestly believed to be right. He must have had doubts that the concessions which Aberdeen wished to make to the United States were justifiable.

In Peel's cabinet happened to be the plenipotentiaries of the old negotiation of 1818, Goulburn and Robinson, the opposites of Gallatin and Rush. Goulburn was Peel's chancellor of the exechequer. He was Peel's closest personal friend. Robinson was a peer. As Viscount Goderich he had briefly been Prime Minister of England. In 1844 he was earl of Ripon and president of the Board of Control for India. Doubtless these two took an active part in the cabinet discussions on the Oregon issue in 1844–45.

How they stood on the difference between Peel and Aberdeen the records of the period do not reveal. There are no formal records of cabinet discussions; Goulburn's correspondence is not accessible; Ripon's sheds no light on the problem. The probability is, however, that the two disclosed to the cabinet the offer, not recorded in British government documents, which Gallatin and Rush had made in 1818; that as a result Peel and his colleagues became aroused over the extent of the surrender which the British government was being asked by Aberdeen to make; and that this accounted, at least in part, for Peel's unwillingness to agree to Aberdeen's proposals.

Eventually Peel and the cabinet were converted to Aberdeen's views. They became persuaded that the lower Columbia was an overvalued highway, the cession of which would not be a major loss to the empire; that the Hudson's Bay Company could be provided for, in a treaty ceding the river, by special provisions protecting its river navigation rights; that the harbors in the Gulf of Georgia could, without serious sacrifice to England, be divided by a partition line drawn along the 49th parallel to the gulf and thence, via the straits, to the sea. Fears of partisan clamor Aberdeen was able to relieve by a campaign of education carried on under his secret direction by agents in the columns of the British press. When the climax of the Oregon crisis was reached in 1845–46 Aberdeen was able to make the offer to the American government of the line of the 49th parallel to the gulf. He was able to send to Washington a treaty *projet* in which all the gulf harbors on the mainland which Gallatin and Rush had once offered to give up, were accorded to the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States. By the American Senate this *projet* was ratified without a change in the summer of 1846. Then, at last, the spell was exorcised that Simon M'Gillivray had cast over the Oregon issue when, in 1817, he published the map exhibiting the ghost river Caledonia.

Harvard University

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Emigration to Russia

Walther Kirchner

THE problem of immigration into Russia has occupied the successive Russian governments since the time of Catherine the Great and has posed interesting questions to the student of Russian social history, questions which with their manifold ramifications scholars have investigated in isolated instances only. It is known that the Russian governments repeatedly tried to attract skilled and industrious workers and peasants; but their efforts were continually checked by apprehensions both within and outside Russia. On the one side, it was feared that politically and religiously undesirable elements might enter; on the other, the home countries of the prospective immigrants wished to avoid the transfer of valuable skills abroad.

A concrete illustration of the difficulties involved in the eastward migration movement and of the type of countermeasures employed is furnished by documents to be found in various Swiss archives. They reflect actions and attitudes encountered in many European countries, and they deal with problems which are typical of all emigration activities.

The account which the Swiss documents give us begins in 1762; for, notwithstanding earlier Russian interest in European immigration, it was only during the reign of Catherine II that methodical efforts toward large-scale immigration were successfully undertaken. From the very beginning of her reign Catherine directed her attention to population problems. Aware of "the wide extent of Our realms" she issued a proclamation within four months of her coming to the throne inviting all but Jews to come and settle in her lands,[1] and by 1765 the first traces of the activities of her agents in Switzerland were apparent.

The agents were charged with three different tasks, two of them important but affecting few people, the third one far-reaching in every respect. The first concerned the introduction of educators into Russia. A Major General von Bülow,[2] about seventy years old and a scion of the prominent family in Mecklenburg, was commissioned to engage "some ten widows and ladies of a cer-

[1] Oct. 14, 1762, A. Jenny, "Leistungen und Schicksale der Russland-Schweizer," *Glarner Geschichte in Daten*, III (Glarus, 1936), 219.

[2] Bailiff of Lausanne to the Council of Geneva, Aug. 25, 1765, Geneva, Staatsarchiv (Archives cantonales), P.H. 4888, vol. 237 (1765).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tain age" to go to Russia, accompanied by domestic servants, and to instruct young people of good families in French and other fields of learning.[3] The ladies had to possess good minds and good manners and were expected to be of Protestant faith; Orthodoxy was, indeed, not required of them, and Catholicism was considered undesirable since it was assumed to lead to superstition. They were given living quarters and board, clothing, two hundred rubles a year, and the help of two servants;[4] and were assured of time for leisure and recreation. Carriages for going to church were put at their disposal. After the fulfillment of their obligations they had the right to return to their home country.

Bülow's undertaking assumed considerable importance, for the emigration even of the few persons in question[5] was stopped by the Swiss authorities. We need not attach too much value to a Russian condition that the servants be of "agreeable face, pure virgins, and, in due time, of fruitful body, to understand French and to be well inclined toward the Orthodox faith" and that, as a complaint of August 23, 1765, shows, Swiss authorities felt that the country was not able to spare sufficient young women fulfilling these requirements. But the problem of depopulation seemed to be an urgent one and the principles involved in Bülow's action presently overshadowed the otherwise very limited extent of his work. When two ladies coming from Geneva passed through the territory of Bern, they were arrested and eventually, after some correspondence,[6] sent back to their home towns. Such procedure justly aroused the ire of Catherine's agent, particularly because a tradition of long standing in Switzerland had generally made Swiss citizens the freest of all, and apparently the bailiff of Geneva had assured Bülow that everyone was his own master and "could go wherever he pleased and do whatever he wanted."[7] But despite vigorous protests and insistence that Catherine, the empress, could expect better treatment from the Swiss, Bernese authorities remained firm in refusing an exit permit even to a few elderly widowed teachers.

How important the issue became is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that

[3] They were first under the impression that they were to teach young ladies. *Ibid.* Later it developed that they were to be governesses of the young nobility of Imperial House of the Cadet Corps. Bern, Staatsarchiv, Russlandbuch A. *Cf.* Ernst Wagner, "Bern vereitelt Russlandgängerei," *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde* (1943).

[4] The servants were to be hired at the wages of three rubles per month, one dress per year, and free board. If they behaved well, they received free return to their home in Switzerland after the expiration of their contract; otherwise they had to pay for the return trip themselves. If male lackeys, they were guaranteed four rubles per month, free board, and a suit per year.

[5] Bülow had engaged no more than four ladies and eight servants. Bern, Staatsarchiv, Russlandbuch A.

[6] Mayor of Bern to the Council of Geneva, Sept. 13, 1765, Geneva, Staatsarchiv, P.H. 4888, vol. 237.

[7] Bülow to Councillors of Bern, Oct. 20, 1765, Bern, Staatsarchiv, Russlandbuch A.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Catherine's prime minister, Count Panin, took a personal hand in the matter. He was aware of the fears of the western countries and their repeated efforts to prevent Russia from sharing in the achievements of the West. At about the same time that Bülow was busy on his mission, another plan to secure Swiss skills for Russia miscarried. It concerned the engagement of a Geneva watchmaker and his journeymen, who were not permitted to depart for Russia lest industrial abilities be spread to the tsarist empire.[8] On October 12, 1765, Panin therefore dispatched a personal letter to the Bernese authorities.[9]

The letter complained of Switzerland's unwarranted lack of co-operation. While not denying that every country had the right to restrict emigration, Panin stressed the gain which every country could derive from the activity of those who left their homes for a limited time to return richer in experience as well as material possessions. At no time, he insisted, had Switzerland, whose citizens could be found everywhere, disregarded resulting advantages. How much less reason had it then to arrest persons engaged abroad not as artisans or workers but as instructors and educators. The perfection of education, incompatible with national rivalry, constituted, as Panin emphasized, a common concern for all nations. All were to gain by it; and the employment of Swiss citizens for education abroad did only honor and justice to the happy state of Swiss institutions.

Panin's letter expressed convictions and sentiments which the enlightened West itself was beginning to preach. But not only did Panin sound his appeal in vain; he also had the disappointment of witnessing the collapse of a third and far broader scheme which the Russian government sought to promote simultaneously. It concerned the settlement of southern Russia by Swiss colonists.

In the course of the year 1765 there appeared in various cantons this public announcement:

Avis au public.

Un Prince offrant a une personne pauvre et infortunée, qui ne possède qu'une miserable Chaumière, et ne trouve aucun secours, ni auprès de ses Supérieurs, ni auprès de ses Parents, du très-bon Terrein en Prés, Champs et Bois, avec une Maison d'Habitation, des Bestiaux et Ustenciles nécessaires pour son besoin, et cela héréditairement pour lui et les Siens; comme fair à présent SA MAJESTÉ L'IMPERATRICE DE RUSSIE, suivant l'Imprimé ci-joint: Il n'est pas douteux que tout pauvre homme, indigent et nécessiteux en état de travailler, n'accepte tel offre gracieux à bras ouvert, et avec la reconnoissance la plus respectueuse.[10]

[8] Georges Morel, *Les Rapports économiques de la Suisse avec la Russie* (Geneva, 1934), p. 87.

[9] Bern, Staatsarchiv, Russlandbuch B.

[10] Geneva, Staatsarchiv. Copies also in Bern, Aarau, and various cantonal archives.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

More detailed information was contained in a long "Report and explanation of the advantages and benefits for the peopling of *Catharinen-Lehn,* or principality created according to Swiss tradition." This report, distributed in both German and French, described the establishment of a settlement in the province of Astrakhan.[11] Between 50° and 52° latitude, in a climate similar to Lyon in France, with excellent communication lines to the Baltic Sea as well as to Persia, and in the midst of the black earth region, with winter hardly noticeable for more than three months and the grass by the middle of April half a man's height, a colony was to be founded near Saratov on the Volga. The soil was said to yield sixteenfold returns; late planted peas were supposed in 1765 to have brought a hundredfold harvest. Horses could be bought at five to six rubles, cows at four. Wheat, rye, beans, oats, hemp, grapes, mulberry trees, wild cherries, and even tobacco could be planted. Flowers of many kinds could be found on the meadows, fish abounded in the water, and fur-bearing animals were plentiful in the forests, affording the settler manifold opportunities. A "sweet life," indeed, could be had there, ideal for the rearing of children and a haven for widows and orphans.

To induce colonists, whether peasants or artisans, to settle in such pleasant surroundings, Catherine offered liberal land grants and sweeping guarantees. Each colonist was entitled to a plot of ground ranging from ten to seventy-five dessiatines.[12] Freedom of faith; freedom from taxation for thirty years; freedom to leave upon repayment of subsidies received; exemption from import duties on all goods brought along; permission to hold fairs without paying the customary dues; non-interest-bearing loans to defray traveling costs and first year expenses; gratuitous distribution of seed for the first winter and summer sowing and of working materials and utensils; two horses, money for chickens, and cows, sheep, and pigs according to the number of the members of a household—all this was promised to him who would come.

Recruiting centers for the new settlements were set up in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Hamburg, Lübeck, Cologne, and Frankfort. None was established in Switzerland, and the agents appointed by a Baron de Caneau de Beauregard de Brockhuysen, who directed their activities from Holland, soon found themselves in grave trouble with the Swiss authorities. The chief figure among them was a Captain François Mottet from Murten, hired as a lieutenant colonel with a salary of 7,900 rubles and the promise of eight hundred arpens of land; another agent was a Captain Schnorff.[13] Their activities were soon

[11] Likewise a copy in the Geneva Staatsarchiv and in several others.

[12] A dessiatine being about 2.7 acres, this meant from 25 to 200 acres.

[13] Zurich, Staatsarchiv, Auswanderung nach Neu Russland, 1765–66. According to Morel (p. 20), the agents who brought colonists to Russia were promised by Catherine three per cent of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interrupted by the Swiss authorities, who reacted violently to plans that could lure away some of their best, their most enterprising citizens. All public advertising for emigration was prohibited and a great witch hunt began. Mottet himself was arrested in December, 1765, and his wife was confined to her house and forbidden to speak to anyone. Printers all over the country were warned not to work for the Mottets under penalty of arrest.

The colonization of the Volga district in Russia by Swiss citizens was thus badly hampered. No more than forty-three families, about 115 persons, all of whom immediately became Russian subjects,[14] managed to evade the restrictions. By 1772 this number swelled to somewhat over one thousand, but even then the total remained far short of Catherine's original expectations. Nine villages were founded and received Swiss names,[15] but the Swiss identity of the immigrants in these villages as well as in the whole district was soon lost, for like small Swiss groups of settlers in the American colonies, they were absorbed by the more numerous contingents of colonists from southern Germany. Almost all of them remained farmers and thus failed to establish any of the steel and iron works or tobacco factories contemplated by the Russian government.

What ruined Catherine's grandiose plans was not apathy on her part, but reluctance on the part of the western states to allow their citizens to avail themselves of Russia's attractive offers and contribute their skills and energies to the growing power of the tsars. Swiss authorities seldom failed to take a stand with regard to emigration questions. They had a long tradition and experience, and their attitude, with regard not only to Russia but also to America, is a subject well worthy of much further study. Despite difficult conditions at home the Swiss generally tried—at least up to the middle of the nineteenth century—to discourage rather than to further emigration, and in the course of the nineteenth century they contributed much valuable investigation, evaluation, and discussion of population problems.[16]

the territories allotted to the colonists, provided they also recruited a contingent of voluntary soldiers and formed regiments.

[14] Jacob Etterlin, *Russland Schweizer und das Ende ihrer Wirksamkeit* (Leipzig-Zurich, 1938), p. 90.

[15] E. Zeugin, *Prattler Auswanderer im Osten Europas* (Pratteln, 1938), p. 12.

[16] The documentary evidence in Swiss archives is abundant. In 1495, for example, in the midst of an era when foreign mercenary service—a result of economic pressure—drained the manpower resources of the country, a law was passed prohibiting emigration from the country. Zurich, Staatsarchiv, Abschieds-Register 1494–98, B VIII, 82. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when great poverty again prompted many to leave their homes, another law was passed. This time it was persuasive rather than prohibitive; special warnings were voiced against settling in Catholic lands, lest souls—persuaded to give up their Protestant faith—fall in damnation. Significantly, the authorities emphasized the need for definite practical steps for economic relief as the best measures to retain prospective emigrants. Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E I, 2, 1 and 2. As time went on, material considerations such as loss of feudal dues in case of emigration con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Whatever the attitude of the Swiss authorities, the movement to settle Russia with Swiss colonists was interrupted during the second part of Catherine's reign. The peculiar contradictions inherent in an essentially agricultural society, with its land hunger on the one hand and its shortage of farmers on the other, came to the fore and discouraged persistent further efforts. Soon, political considerations intensified the problem, for after the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 the tsarina withdrew her invitation in fear that Swiss immigrants would be carriers of the revolutionary virus. Emperor Paul followed her policy; and, even if he had sought to promote immigration, the ragged crowd of Russian soldiers which made its laborious way through Switzerland at the end of Suvorov's Italian campaign in 1799 would have constituted a poor advertisement for Russia. Not until 1803, when Alexander I, disciple of the Swiss Laharpe, was occupying the throne, do we find fresh efforts to attract Swiss colonists.

On July 25 of that year, a proclamation was published in the tsar's name by one G. v. Escher, a Swiss with the rank of a colonel in the Russian service; all Swiss were once more invited to come and settle in the tsar's realms. New colonies were to be established in the region of the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, and in the mountainous regions of Tauria. The promises this time made to the settlers were based on the experiences during Catherine's reign. They included sixty dessiatines of land or as much as they needed for vineyards and other plantations; freedom of religion; 350 to 500 rubles cash advance per family[17] for the trip and a foothold in the new surroundings; exemption from import duties on all personal belongings; guarantee of their being settled together in one district; exemption from military service; right to found factories and engage in domestic and foreign trade; legal administration of their own, as long as it was in accordance with the criminal legislation of the land; free return to Switzerland, if so desired, including all property originally brought along; fifteen years' freedom from taxation; and exemption from quartering of soldiers. Swiss noblemen were to receive Russian noble rank, although their title to serfs was limited.[18]

Again the Swiss authorities interfered. The enterprise was labeled a private speculation, Escher was denounced as unreliable, and unfavorable re-

flicted more and more with growing humanitarian views, and often the prohibitions and warnings were not enforced by local organs. This, combined with frequent bad experiences of many emigrants, partly due to untrustworthy agents, led to an increasingly vacillating attitude on the part of the authorities. Basel, Staatsarchiv, Auswanderung A, *passim*.

[17] A family meant husband, wife, and small children, or two adult men, or four adult women.

[18] Bregenz, July 25, 1803, signed by G. v. Escher, Zurich, Staatsarchiv, K III, 338, 1, St. 1. Th. 1, No. 1.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ports from many disappointed emigrants were spread.[19] The needy, who were only too willing to accept the offer, received stern warnings. The canton of Zurich went so far as to prohibit emigration altogether, pointing out that without a certain amount of funds and without certificates of good conduct no one could expect to be admitted to and prosper in Russia.[20] The canton of Aarau did not imitate Zurich; it even aided prospective emigrants in getting the necessary permits and certificates. But it demanded that unless the emigrant relinquished all his property in the community (*in der Gemeinde besitzenden Mittel*) he was to renounce his *Bürgerrecht,* a provision which made return almost impossible.[21] Other cantons passed similar laws, and the crowning blow came when emigration's main proponent, Escher himself, was arrested.

It would be erroneous to believe that the Swiss authorities displayed in this matter a lack of a sense of responsibility. Conditions had changed considerably since Catherine's time. While the economic situation in Switzerland, as opposed to 1765, made restrictive measures inadvisable, the needs of Russia had also changed, and the reception of colonists was not so cordial as before. Furthermore, Escher's promises exceeded what Russia in reality was willing to offer, and the tsars had become more selective. An edict issued in 1804 decreed that Swiss criminals would under no circumstances be admitted,[22] and another clarified the regulations according to which colonists in Russia were to be received in the future.[23]

These regulations differed considerably from Catherine's invitation. Only good agriculturists and agricultural artisans but no artists or craftsmen were

[19] Fribourg, Oct. 2, 1803, Rundschreiben des Landamman, Basel, Staatsarchiv, Auswanderung A, Allgemeines und Einzelnes, 1801–18.

[20] Zurich, Staatsarchiv, Auswanderung, June, 1804.

[21] Aarau, Staatsarchiv, Auswanderungen, I A, No. 5, Mar. 19, 1804. The right to citizenship implied—and still does imply—that even after generations of life abroad Swiss citizens or their descendants could return to their home canton, take up residence there, and claim the benefits to which other citizens of the canton were entitled. This right has been of fundamental importance because it reduced the risks of emigration. It also furthered the settlement of Swiss in the United States despite adverse reports of many who returned from there, disappointed with the opportunities, unable to make a living in the new world, and full of complaints and denunciations. This aspect has rarely been treated by American historians; in view of its sociological interest and the abundant documentary material available, it may be well worthy of consideration. In more recent times, the *Bürgerrecht* again played an important role when after the Soviet revolution hundreds of colonists decided to return to the homes of their ancestors.

[22] Direktor von Muralt to the Justiz und Polizei Kommission, Zurich, Staatsarchiv, K III, 516, 1–2, fol. 93. An interesting, very modern point of view with regard to criminals was taken by the police of Basel-Land in 1883. They insisted that America was too strict with regard to emigration and paid too much attention to the past of an immigrant instead of his physical and spiritual capacities. "Why should not a man dependent at home upon support from his canton be able in America to make his living as well as others, why not a condemned man become in a different atmosphere a useful member of human society?" Sept. 6, 1883, Liestal, Staatsarchiv Basellandschaft, Auswanderungsakten A, Allgem. u. Einzelnes.

[23] Zurich, Staatsarchiv, K III, 388, 1, St. 1, Th. 1, No. 29.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to be admitted, since the latter, in the opinion of the Russian government, could not expect to make a satisfactory living. Refund of travel costs was no longer promised; on the contrary, every prospective immigrant was required to have at least three hundred imperial guilders of his own. A small subvention for sustenance after he had crossed the Russian frontier was the only help he could expect. Exemption from taxes was limited to ten years. Trade was permitted within Russia but no longer with foreign countries. As to ownership of land, possession with full property rights was still guaranteed, but whoever met disappointment and wished to return was required to sell his land before leaving. Under the circumstances, it was suggested that some colonists come first to inspect the land and to report to other prospective immigrants on what they had seen. As a whole, it can be said that in 1804 Russia permitted, but did not encourage, colonization.

As a result of the new regulations, a great number of impoverished emigrants who had already settled their affairs at home and had proceeded to Constance, Ulm, Vienna, and other assembly centers, returned rather than risk the venture. They became a burden to their cantons[24] and thus provided a justification of the attitude their governments had initially taken. Others reached Hungary only to die there during the harsh winter. A small group reached an estate near Feodosia on the Black Sea, from which they moved in 1805 to a colony called Zürichthal in the Crimea.[25] Although one of Escher's relatives, Friedrich Ludwig von Escher, wrote that colonists were well received and happy and that no good was served by the spreading of disparaging reports on Russia—"for where, in Europe, does one find milder views [*Gesinnungen*], more magnanimous and more justice loving?"[26]—facts reveal that even in Zürichthal conditions were adverse. The death rate remained exceedingly high, funds were lacking, many settlers proved unfit for the work, others were cheated by native Tartars and Turks. Only after 1822 did conditions steadily improve; the growing of wheat, vegetables, and grapes eventually brought a fair degree of prosperity.[27]

After the end of Escher's activities we do not hear of new Swiss colonization efforts in Russia until the Napoleonic wars were over. All of Europe had suffered terribly from the destruction and disorganization brought about

[24] *Cf. ibid.*, 514, 4, 71 and 515, 3, 85.

[25] Jakob Etterlin Adliswil, *Die ehemaligen Schweizerkolonien in Russland* (Bern, 1945), p. 52. *Cf.* Leo Weisz, "Glarner in Russland," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, No. 1385 of July 24, 1932. In the same newspaper, Weisz published "Schweizer im Kaukasus," (No. 1681 of Aug. 31, 1930) and "Schweizer in Taurien," (No. 966 of May 21, 1931).

[26] July 20, 1804, Zurich, Staatsarchiv, Auswanderung 1804.

[27] Two reports (one of 1838?, the other of 1844) regarding the colony Zürichthal in Bern, Bundesarchiv, Auswärtiges, Handelskonsulate "St. Petersburg."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by Napoleon's armies. The reconstruction of regions pillaged and devastated by the French took considerable time and was further delayed by unfavorable weather in the postwar years. A fearful period of hunger hit both Switzerland and southern Germany in 1816 and 1817. As a result, distress prevailed in many parts and necessarily led the poor to seek relief. In the prevailing romantic atmosphere many wild schemes to escape hardships found willing ears; one of the schemes was that of the Baroness von Krüdener, of Holy Alliance fame, who arrived in Switzerland in 1816 and proposed "to the faithful" emigration to the Caucasus where, as she asserted, God had charged the tsar of Russia to set up a kingdom for them.[28] She actually sent her son-in-law, Baron Berckheim, to St. Petersburg in order to further the plan, and eventually a small group of adherents found their way to Russia, where they settled in the neighborhood of Tiflis.[29]

Another movement, this one of greater importance, bore an official character and was directed toward Poland. "Considering . . . that the establishment of industrious foreigners could not but contribute to the progress of agriculture, manufacturing, artisanship, and all kinds of useful industries,"[30] Alexander I, in his capacity of king of Poland, published in 1816 an edict inviting Swiss citizens to settle in his realm. He promised to newcomers exemption for six years from all public burdens (*impot public*), from taxes, provided the land was carefully cultivated, and from import duties on goods brought along. If the colonist fulfilled all his obligations faithfully, he was guaranteed free return home after six years, although in this case his exemption from taxation was revoked and he had to pay taxes in proportion to his profits. All had to observe the existing passport regulations; Jews, however, were not admitted at all.[31]

Notwithstanding renewed warnings by Swiss authorities, many citizens were again taken in by the promises. They left and crossed the frontier into Baden, but there they found themselves once more confronted with often insurmountable difficulties.[32] For in 1817 Alexander published another proclamation, which was intended to clarify doubtful issues and thereby succeeded only in destroying many hopes. It bears witness to the changes in Rus-

[28] Ernest John Knapton, *The Lady of the Holy Alliance* (New York, 1939), p. 187.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 188. *Cf.* Leo Weisz, "Schweizer im Kaukasus." The archives of the Basel Missionary Society contain valuable material on Russia which has so far been exploited essentially in the field of religious history only. *Cf.* Wilhelm Schlatter, *Die Basler Mission* (Basel, 1916); Anna Katterfeld, *Felician von Zaremba* (Stuttgart, 1939); Carl Fr. Ledderhose, *Leben und Wirken des Missionars Zaremba* (Basel, 1882). Students of Russian social history can gather valuable material from the same sources if they use them for their specific purposes.

[30] Mar. 2, 1816, Zurich, Staatsarchiv, K III, 342, 1, 23.

[31] Special rules allowed Jews to secure transit visa through Poland.

[32] Bezirksamt Lörrach to Kanton Basel, Jan. 2, 1817, Basel, Staatsarchiv, Auswanderung A, Allgemeines und Einzelnes, 1801–18.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sia, showing the political, economic, and social stabilization achieved in the previous fifty years and the resulting gradual tightening of immigration legislation. It compares unfavorably not only with Catherine's initial invitations but also with Alexander's own proposals at the beginning of his reign. The new ukase laid special emphasis on strict adherence to passport regulations. Its demand for property qualifications to the extent of six hundred imperial guilders contrasts with Catherine's assurances of subsidies for travel and the first year of sojourn and with the 1804 requirement of three hundred guilders.[33] Exemption from taxes was limited to six years instead of fifteen and ten respectively, and even this concession was made subject to the settler's remaining at the same place for at least twice that time and paying dues for the second half. Whether for his benefit or supervision, he was put "under the special protection of the *Commission de l'intérieur et de la police,*" and only exemption from military service for himself and his children was maintained.[34]

Despite adverse conditions in Switzerland, this latest Russian edict failed to attract settlers and consequently made necessary a more generous, and more successful, offer promulgated three years later. Alexander's tutor Laharpe himself took a hand in sponsoring it, and Louis V. Tardent from Vevey put it into practice. Freedom of religion, exemption from military service, exemption from taxes for ten years, free gifts of sixty dessiatines of land and six dessiatines of vineyards were promised, and free return after payment of all debts and three years of taxes was guaranteed. Colonists, whether agriculturists, vineyard workers, or craftsmen, were allowed to establish factories and engage in trade. In spirit and content, the new offer thus resembled earlier invitations; a property requirement of three hundred rubles was, however, maintained.[35]

The place chosen for the colony was Chabag in Bessarabia, near the mouth of the Dniester. Since it seemed particularly well suited for vineyards, the invitation was addressed primarily to the fellow citizens of Laharpe in the Swiss canton of Vaud, famous for its wines. Tardent himself inspected the region before engaging in the recruiting work.[36]

As it turned out, this colony was no more successful than earlier ones. In

[33] If they had less than six hundred guilders they could get only a small estate sufficient to start a garden and have one cow. They had to make their living by hiring themselves out as day laborers. Those who had less than one hundred guilders could receive no land at all. "Bekanntmachung . . . für diejenigen die sich in Pohlen niederzulassen gedenken," Bern, Bundesarchiv, Verhandlungen auswärtiger Staaten mit den Bundesbehörden, Russland, No. 2174 (1814–24), fol. 125.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Etterlin, *Russland Schweizer und das Ende ihrer Wirksamkeit,* pp. 68 ff.

[36] Etterlin, *Die ehemaligen Schweizerkolonien in Russland,* p. 44.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

July, 1822, some twenty-eight men left Switzerland and after a four months' trip reached Chabag. Hard times were ahead; many died of fever, lack of care, or intemperance.[37] In the years 1826 to 1830, additional colonists came, and gradually the settlement was put on an economically sound basis. But it remained insignificant and the Russian government reneged on its promises. Land was not turned over to the individual settler as his personal property but was surrendered to the colony as a whole, with collective property rights and providing solely for the *usus fructi*. An oath of allegiance to the Russian tsar was demanded, while the settler was required to renounce his Swiss nationality.[38] In 1871, the colony came under the laws of the Russian empire and in 1874 lost its privilege of exemption from military service. This blow was all the harder since many members belonged to religious sects, such as the Mennonites, who conscientiously objected to army training.[39]

After 1822, no new project for Swiss immigration into Russia was developed for some time. The lure of southern Russia was somewhat lost because of the disappointing experiences at Chabag, and attention was gradually directed to other parts of the empire. Among them was Poland, which offered both agricultural and industrial opportunities. In view of the unsettled political situation there, the Russian government at first was not at all anxious to complicate matters by permitting the immigration of people from central and western Europe. In 1832 it flatly stated that Poland was in no need of man power, that the Russian government did not at all look for colonists, and that, if people came despite warnings, travel costs would not be refunded.[40] But later, after the Polish rebellion of 1833 had been suppressed, a change of policy occurred, and in May rules were published according to which foreigners were to be received who intended to settle in Poland.[41]

In line with the general policies of Nicholas I, political reliability became the foremost consideration. Prospective immigrants were therefore required to present themselves first to Russia's agents abroad who would examine them, and if finding them acceptable, give them the necessary permits. With special speed for agriculturists, passports were thereupon issued. Nevertheless,

[37] *Cf.* Report of April, 1843, Bern, Bundesarchiv, Auswärtiges, Handelskonsulate Odessa, No. 1977. According to the Swiss consul, the Germans, owing to their industry, were the most successful, and among them particularly the religious sects of Moravians and Mennonites.

[38] Sept. 22, 1874, Political Department of Swiss Federation to Basel Stadt. Basel, Stattsarchiv. *Cf.* Zeugin, pp. 12 and 15.

[39] One of the stipulations for Chabag colonists read: *"Chacun des membres de la commune est tenu d'avoir un psaume et un catechisme pour chacun de ses enfants, plus une bible et une carabine pour sa famille."* Zeugin, p. 30.

[40] Apr. 18, 1832, Bern, Staatsarchiv, Manual des diplomat, Departement No. 1, p. 268.

[41] Apr. 28 to May 10, 1833, Bern, Bundesarchiv, Verhandlungen auswärtiger Staaten mit den Bundesbehörden, No. 2176 (1833–48), fols. 4–7. The edict was communicated to the various cantons under "26 Heumonat 1834," *cf.* Aarau, Staatsarchiv, Russland, AA No. 1.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon arrival in Warsaw and before proceeding to his place of destination the immigrant had to present himself again to the authorities.

As to the conditions under which he could settle, he was warned that he should not expect special privileges, nor believe assurances of recruiting agents except in so far as they referred to exemption from import duties on personal belongings brought along. Neither would refund of traveling costs be granted nor land be made available unless all costs were defrayed by the settler. Yet, certain advantages were still to be gained. They included exemption from military service for the immigrant himself and his children and the issuance of passports for his return journey, provided he fulfilled all his public and private obligations. Exemption from taxation was fixed at six years, or at twelve years if the cultivated soil needed improvement. The property requirements for those who wanted peasant estates were fixed at four hundred Rhenish guilders. Jews remained subject to the restrictions according to the fundamental law of March 2, 1816.

A few years later, another edict regarding immigration into Poland was published, this one referring to industrial workers in the mines.[42] The provisions were surprisingly enlightened. The immigrant laborer was exempted from military service and personal taxes. He received a house built for him and land for a garden which he could amortize at a low rate. Upon leaving he could sell his home, but only to other workers in the same factory. His working hours were fixed beforehand (although they still amounted to twelve), and so was his salary. He received health insurance to the extent of one half of his wages and free care in the mine sanitarium for himself and also for the members of his family. Both life and accident insurance were provided for, paying, when due, from one sixth to one half of his wages; in case of death, one half of his salary was to be paid to his widow. After ten years of service he was entitled to a pension. His children were guaranteed free education in elementary schools. Return to his fatherland at any time was promised, provided that he lived up to his obligations, and advances for the costs of traveling were granted.

The edict is of unusual interest as it reveals an awareness and understanding of social problems generally associated by historians only with a much later period, and even then rather with Germany, England, and the Scandinavian countries than with Russia. Few, if any, textbooks, either in economic or in Russian history, mention the remarkable modernism of its stipulations.

[42] "Bekanntmachung über Vergünstigungen für ausländische Berg und Hüttenarbeiter im Königreich Polen. 1837," Bern, Bundesarchiv, Verhandlungen auswärtiger Staaten mit den Bundesbehörden, No. 2176 (1833–48), fols. 51–53.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Inasmuch as the offer came at a time when industrialization all over Europe, including Switzerland, created grave economic distress for part of the population and when the United States, with her wider opportunities and liberal political institutions, beckoned to the destitute, the Swiss authorities felt compelled to review their stand with regard to emigration. Their conclusions differed with each separate canton and were probably consciously or unconsciously determined by economic forces dependent upon local factors. Yet, by 1840 the need for a general directive was clearly recognized,[43] and, after careful studies in various parts, thirteen cantons sent delegates to a conference on emigration in October, 1846. As the minutes of this conference—concerned with emigration in general, but thinking in terms of America rather than of Russia[44]—surprisingly show, the view still prevailed that emigration was neither to be supported nor to be facilitated. It was argued that if a prospective emigrant possessed financial or spiritual resources, his country stood to lose a valuable man; and if he did not possess these qualities, he was likely not to prosper abroad either. The majority insisted that the diligent worker could make a living at home as well as abroad; and no money should be spent on those who left their country and thus avoided fulfilling their duties as citizens.

The shortsighted position taken at the conference could not prevail for long. The most vigorous protest came some years later from the canton of Aargau, which, because of the particular economic stress under which its population suffered, was generally inclined to more liberal views. It was stated that the support and protection of emigration was one of the definite tasks of a state, whether it was poverty or wanderlust that induced a man to seek a new home. True to the liberal tradition of the day, it was added that it was not within the competence of a state to interfere in the "free will of the independent citizen, whose decision is not bound by any lawful cause."[45]

The controversy affected emigration to Russia to a small degree only, for on the one hand the eyes of the Swiss desirous of improving their lot were generally turned toward America, and on the other hand Russia under Nicholas I continued its reluctance to admit western immigrants with their dangerous social ideas. The number of Swiss colonies in Russia thus remained unchanged and the total of the settlers in the various regions amounted at each of the larger places to several hundred, and seldom reached the thou-

[43] The arbitrariness in handling emigration permits is exemplified by a report of March 22, 1832, according to which the governor in Thun (canton Bern) refused to issue passports for emigrants to Russia. Bern, Staatsarchiv, Manual des diplomat, Departement, No. 1, p. 222.

[44] "8. Herbstmonat 1846," Basel, Staatsarchiv, Auswanderung A, 1819–47.

[45] Aargau to the Grosser Rat, May 17, 1854, Basel, Staatsarchiv, Auswanderung A, 1854–63.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sand mark.[46] Those colonists who had arrived in the early period and had overcome the initial hardships had mostly prospered, but at least up to 1861 their example offered little inducement for others to imitate them. Only the radical changes which occurred in the tsarist empire after 1861 following the emancipation of the serfs renewed interest in emigration to Russia. But by then, state domains were no longer available and private enterprises now filled the place of state sponsorship.

An example of adaptation to the new conditions is furnished by an enterprise directed by a Captain Johann Michel from Böningen, who in 1862 promoted the establishment of a new Swiss colony.[47] Michel made arrangements with a private landowner, who offered to put land on the banks of the river Chadagosh in the government of Novgorod, about four hundred kilometers from St. Petersburg, at the disposal of the colonists. The settlement was to start with ten families of eight to ten persons each, of which at least three had to be male and capable of work. Probably because of the recommendation of Michel, preference was given to people from the canton of Bern.

The terms offered were remarkably generous. The colonists were to receive as free gifts a church, a cemetery, forty dessiatines of forest, a bath house, a bakery, and a well. In addition, each family could get sixteen dessiatines of tillable land and ten dessiatines of forest, for a period of six years free of all fees. A house in Bernese chalet style and a barn were to be erected for each and could be rented for ninety-nine years. Hunting and fishing were permitted, state taxes were paid by the owner, and cash advances up to two hundred rubles could be secured. In exchange, the newcomers had to make interest and amortization payments on the investments of the owner; from the sixth year on, a certain rent was added, which, up to the twentieth year, could be annually increased. However, beginning with the fourteenth year, the colonist had the right to purchase his land.

On the basis of private arrangements, other offers followed. One of them was that of Fieldmarshal Prince Bariatinsky, who offered in 1878 to put his estate of 40,000 dessiatines at the disposal of immigrants, to let them rent it for ninety-nine years and to charge for the first ten years one franc per dessiatine yearly, and more thereafter, in proportion to actual returns from the land.[48]

[46] In April, 1843, the Swiss colony at Odessa, for example, numbered 150 to 200 persons. Bern, Bundesarchiv, Auswärtige Handelskonsulate, No. 1977. According to Morel (p. 15), there were about 1,670 Swiss residents in Russia in 1850, and 5,902 in 1897; between 1828 and 1915, about 7,000 Swiss emigrated to Russia. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[47] Bern, Bundesarchiv, Auswanderung Russland, 1862. Further references to Michel's plans can be found in Bern, Staatsarchiv, Missiven-Buch, No. 43, pp. 315 and 449, under Apr. 24, 1863.

[48] Oct. 1, 1878, Bern, Bundesarchiv, Auswanderung Russland, 1878.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After the hundred years of Swiss colonization in Russia we thus find the basis of the whole emigration movement to Russia completely reversed. At the beginning, Russia had been desirous of receiving colonists and Switzerland adverse to letting them depart; at the end, the Swiss would have been happy to see as many as possible leave for more promising lands, if only Russia had still been as anxious to open her gates. In 1765, the most attractive offers were made to scientists, educators, artisans, and peasants; in 1878, aside from individual immigration, essentially only agriculturists could settle in Russia, and even then, only if they fulfilled passport regulations designed for keeping them out rather than for admitting them.[49] When Catherine came to the throne, concentrated, state-directed efforts sought, through generous offers, to turn deserts into prosperous habitable lands; under Alexander II, laissez-faire ideology envisioned the same objectives, subject, though, to the economic aims of private enterprise and in proportion to its narrower scope.

In its various stages, this development has been traced here with the help of two types of documents, one embodying the ever-varying conditions offered by Russia to prospective immigrants, the other showing reactions to the Russian appeals in the country to which they were addressed. Once the material has been assembled, studies, evaluations, and comparisons become possible which add to our knowledge of an important phase in the building of the Russian nation and throw light on general problems involved in all large migration movements.

University of Delaware

[49] Passport questions, *i.e.*, the questions of admittance of foreigners, are in themselves worthy of more scrutiny. An entire volume dealing with them may be found in Basel, Staatsarchiv, Niederlassung R 12, Pässe nach Russland. *Cf.* Bern, Bundesarchiv, Auswärtiges, Handelskonsulate, where an interesting description of the difficulties is given from Moscow under Oct. 16, 1843. Also the migration of individuals was severely hampered by regulations; but this type of migration—important for Switzerland and Russia with regard to officers, scientists, peasants, merchants, artisans, industrialists, cheese makers, etc.—calls for separate treatment in connection with the "Westernization" of Russia.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reviews of Books

General History

LES POLITIQUES D'EXPANSION IMPÉRIALISTE. Introduction by *Pierre Renouvin*. [Colonies et Empires: Collection internationale de Documentation coloniale. Première série: Études coloniales, 5.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1949. Pp. 255. 360 fr.)

THIS new volume of the series "Colonies et Empires" consists of studies, by various historians, of five representative statesmen of the age of imperialism. C. A. Julien writes of Jules Ferry; J. Bruhat of Leopold II; G. Bourgin of Francesco Crispi; M. Crouzet of Joseph Chamberlain; and P. Renouvin of Theodore Roosevelt. The names of these scholars are alone sufficient to guarantee the quality of the writing. It may be said without reserve that these five essays are exemplars of sound, compact, and well-written historical analysis. They are entirely abreast of our present knowledge, and the bibliographies appended to each are perfectly up to date. In matters of form one might, if it were worth while, object to the typographical errors, so usual in French books. A more serious criticism is the lack of any map material. It stands to reason that in reviewing the policy of these statesmen all sorts of outlandish places must be mentioned—in Indochina, in the Congo, in Eritrea and Ethiopia, and in South Africa. No one, even the expert, can be expected to carry these places in his head or to have them in his mind's eye. How the poor student is to deal with them, without good maps at hand, is a question that defies an answer.

In the introduction to the volume, Professor Renouvin explains its purpose to be to study the work of these five statesmen, to examine their motives, and to compare their methods. He explains further that, since the relation of these colonial questions to general international affairs is well known, little emphasis is placed on that aspect. Rather, the domestic problems of these political leaders, thus far all too commonly neglected, are especially stressed.

So far, so good. But as a matter of fact, the book, for all its intrinsic merits, falls short of the program outlined. The treatment of the domestic factors, for example, does not go beyond constant reference to parliamentary situations. There is nowhere any real effort made to analyze the popular reaction or to explain it. As for comparisons, they appear only in Professor Renouvin's introduction, where the point is made that all five of the statesmen in question were concerned to satisfy national economic needs, to acquire naval bases, and to enhance the prestige of their respective countries. As against these vague and exceedingly general similarities one could list an imposing number of differences. Leopold's problems bore little resemblance to those of Roosevelt; those of Crispi, little to Chamberlain's. In short, we have here five splendid chapters, without much cement to hold them together.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The most striking fact that emerges from the volume is that none of these famous imperialists had any real doctrine or any very profound plan. Even Leopold, thirsty for personal power and determined at an early age to acquire colonies, thought originally about China and settled on the Congo for opportunistic reasons. The others were even more at the mercy of circumstances. Some began as opponents of expansion and became converted when they saw the political possibilities. Those, like Ferry, who theorized, did so after the event rather than before. The reader is left, then, in complete confusion as to what the noise was all about. Certainly this book does nothing to further the solution of that fascinating problem of recent history, the phenomenal outburst of expansionism in the late nineteenth century. What started the ball rolling and why all the major powers, almost without exception, felt impelled to join in the imperial scramble, continues to remain a mystery. Marxist doctrine on the subject has been elaborated and refined to a high degree, but it appears to satisfy only the initiated. Others have made suggestions, even brilliant ones, yet an acceptable explanation of modern imperialism is still outstanding. Under the circumstances one can hardly help regretting that the able writers of this book did not, instead of restating the facts, attempt something in the way of a broader and deeper synthesis.

Harvard University WILLIAM L. LANGER

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN CONSTITUTIONALISM. By *Francis D. Wormuth*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1949. Pp. x, 243. $3.00.)

THIS study of political theories and constitutional principles, from ancient Athens to Fair Deal Washington, combines the historical with the political-scientific method. The scientific is used in the first five chapters, which analyze Graeco-Roman concepts of law and government and describe the popping-up, in various writings between the second and seventeenth centuries, of the doctrine of mixed monarchy. They afford a background for the second section of the book, "The Cromwellian Constitutions," containing the substance of Mr. Wormuth's researches. This, the historical part, points out with an admirable simplicity the connections between political theories, the practice of politics, and the revolutionary constitutions. Mr. Wormuth pins down ephemeral schemes of government to the historical motivation which gave them a momentary currency or to constitutional principles which subsequently became prominent in England or America.

Right here, however, doubts arise about the validity of several deductions. After soundly documenting the muddy genesis, 1640–1660, of notions about "the separation of powers," Mr. Wormuth concludes that "the doctrine of the separation of powers was thereafter [1660] an accepted principle of constitutional law" (p. 72). Even if "constitutional" law had existed in England between 1660 and 1688, the designation of this doctrine as a principle in law, as against political theory, would seem extravagant. The British cabinet still executes and legislates, and the House of Lords both makes laws and judges cases. Further on (chapter

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

xx), Mr. Wormuth admits that "the Cromwellian analysis of powers into legislative and executive was somewhat eclipsed" from 1660 to 1689. Then "the Cromwellian ideas . . . were restored to full authority"—but, we may add, only in "a large number of Whig pamphlets" (p. 191). Misty as constitutional law has been, it is hardly synonymous with political theory, and the absence of the very phrase, "separation of powers," in Mr. Wormuth's Cromwellian quotations suggests that men were not then conscious of it as an "accepted principle." A big gap exists between political theories, no matter how widespread, and applied principles of government, a gap which may be bridged only when a fundamental rule receives legal, or at least political, recognition or is sanctioned by continued usage.

Seven final chapters resume the scientific method—the quoting of English and American writers from 1649 to 1948 out of their historical settings and societal contexts. Montesquieu, Blackstone, and Adam Smith are teamed up with James Otis, John Marshall, and Daniel Webster, whose opinions are supplemented with those of Holmes and Stone, Lippmann and Hayek. Such a variety of views requires a comprehensive definition of constitutionalism, and for this purpose Mr. Wormuth is content to use Alexander Hamilton's casual phrase, "auxiliary precautions" (p. 3). A more concrete concept of constitutionalism might be derived from actual political practices and principles of law recognized in English courts, including parliament. Many of us were once taught, and some of us still believe, that the origins of modern constitutionalism go back before the English Civil Wars and may be found not just in political theory but also among the rules of political procedure, rules embedded in medieval law and custom. After all, Plantagenets as well as Puritans and Athenians had a part in forging principles which go to make up Anglo-American constitutionalism—governance through political processes recognized as duly lawful.

Yale University WILLIAM H. DUNHAM, JR.

LEGAL PHILOSOPHY FROM PLATO TO HEGEL. By *Huntington Cairns*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 583. $7.50.)

FOR a full appraisal of the virtues and accomplishments of the present volume a clear understanding of its scope and goal is indispensable. The publication of this book constitutes the third stage in the performance of a formidable task which the noted author has undertaken, namely, to "construct the foundation of a theory of law which is the necessary antecedent of a possible jurisprudence" (p. ix). The first two steps were his *Law and the Social Sciences* (1935) and *The Theory of Legal Science* (1941). The fourth and concluding phase will be the issuance of a further volume to be entitled "The Elements of Legal Theory."

Jurisprudence is to Cairns a science devoted to "the study of human behavior as a function of disorder" (*Theory of Legal Science,* pp. 1, 93). In the formation of a general theory of law legal philosophy plays a conspicuous part, and legal philosophy forms therefore an important branch of jurisprudence. Naturally, the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

problem arises whether general or, as Cairns terms it, "professional" philosophy has contributed to the fundamental truths to be established by jurisprudence as a science. The author makes it clear that at present there is "no way of ascertaining what are the fundamental truths in jurisprudence" and that "it may turn out in the end that philosophy has taught us nothing about law" (pp. 557, 565). Nevertheless, in order to test the fundamental character of the results arrived at by the professional philosophers it is necessary to inquire what their principal conclusions about law consist of. Thus, sandwiched in between two thought-provoking chapters entitled "Philosophy as Jurisprudence" and "Jurisprudence as Philosophy" we find a careful, though relatively compact, analysis of the legal philosophies of the professional philosophers who speculated about law as part of their comprehensive philosophical systems: Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Aquinas, Francis Bacon, Hobbes, Spinoza, Leibniz, Locke, Hume, Kant, Fichte, and Hegel.

Considering the purpose and the scope of Cairns's inquiry, it is not surprising that the author warns in the preface that he did not write a history of legal philosophy. Even less did he present a history of the impact which the various philosophical systems had on contemporary and subsequent legal thought. While the writer attempts occasionally to give specific examples of such influence, he generally accepts as foregone conclusion that such relationship exists. Of course, a reader interested in the history of ideas and thought in general and of legal theories in particular will feel a twinge of regret about this perfectly justifiable self-limitation of the author.

Thus, to those who are not interested in jurisprudence as such, the author gives a carefully considered, modern, and extremely well-written exposition and analysis of the legal theories of some of the principal philosophical systems. And that constitutes undoubtedly the principal and indisputable general value of the work. To those who are specifically interested in the broad aspects of juristic theory, the author gives much more. "Professional" legal historians, such as the reviewer, however, may feel a little misled by the title and therefore somewhat disappointed.

University of Minnesota STEFAN A. RIESENFELD

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A MID-WAY ACCOUNT OF THE WESTERN WORLD. By *Hans Kohn*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 242. $2.50.)

PROFESSOR Kohn offers fourteen essays to strike a balance sheet of the twentieth century at its midpoint. His concluding note of optimism is largely dispelled by his earlier arguments. This reviewer so often agrees with the earlier arguments that critical evaluation is difficult. But the book is not "all of a piece," being constructed of new as well as previously published material. The first half of the book will interest historians while the last, retracing well-known liberal views of the 1940's, seems pointed toward the nonspecialist.

A tract for the times, the book is replete with pronouncements and exhorta-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions. Professor Kohn's predilections are clear: individualism and rationalism. At times the essays are more of a defense of the nineteenth century (John Stuart Mill's) than an analysis of the twentieth. Hence, though he states that the challenge to the West is more from within than without, he does not tear away the curtain from some major maladjustments, as the economic and psychological insecurity resulting from depression, which have forced too many men away from these ideals. Disliking, as liberal intellectuals do, all forms of totalitarianism, racism, and the murkier aspects of romanticism, he may permit his ideals to color his judgment of western nations. Thus he admires British imperialism and asserts that the United States under Theodore Roosevelt was fighting for security. Thus he may too often see recent history in terms of jet black and lily white.

Europe's last fifty years may perhaps best be seen as a series of multiple and continuing crises. If this be true Professor Kohn is right when he studs his narrative with terms like "turning points" and "completely," or when he writes that "The year 1848 witnessed . . . the rise of the proletariat." Historical events may be seen as "turning points" in sharp ideological conflicts. Yet they are nearly always long in preparation, can sometimes be viewed outside of the context of struggle, and, except for dialectic, are seldom identifiable as "turning points."

Professor Kohn's insights are so provocative that they here warrant more of that historical perspective of which he elsewhere shows himself a master when cutting pathways through the paper forests surrounding the subject of nationalism. There is hardly a page in this book where historians will not dissent to generalizations which might be accepted were they less abruptly stated.

One minor point. Professor Kohn's notes are not uniform. Often they are meaty; for some conclusions and quotations several sources are cited when only one can be exact; for others there are no citations and hence the curious student cannot conveniently examine the voluminous reading they must represent.

University of Arkansas BOYD C. SHAFER

THE ALCHEMISTS: FOUNDERS OF MODERN CHEMISTRY. By *F. Sherwood Taylor,* Curator of the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford. (New York: Henry Schuman. 1949. Pp. x, 246. $4.00.)

THIS book will provide a rare pleasure to readers interested in its topic and a special delight to those who are acquainted with the modern literature on alchemy, from its beginning in the nineteenth century with H. Kopp and P. E. M. Berthelot up to our time. Here, to the knowledge of this reviewer for the first time, the seemingly impossible has been achieved: the illumination, not only for the initiated but also for the intelligent layman, of that mysterious mixture of experiment and symbolism, of fact and fiction, of belief and fraud which is called alchemy.

In fifteen well-organized chapters the author gives an excellent account of the development of the "art and mystery" to which his book is devoted, bravely facing all major problems and presenting explanations and interpretations which carry

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the full power of well-based argumentation. One can hardly deny the general conclusions of the author even where the initiated misses the one or the other reference, for instance to Max Wellmann's *Die Physika des Bolos Demokritos und des Magier Anaxilaos aus Larissa* (Berlin, 1928), the main source of the alchemistic writings ascribed to "Democritos" and of the recipes of the Papyri Holmiensis and Leidensis and of some of the mysterious female alchemist, "Maria," and to the statements in Ruska's *Tabula Smaragdina* (Heidelberg, 1926) concerning Apollonios of Tyana, the Balinās of the Arabs.

This reviewer, who was a student of E. O. von Lippmann, the author of the most compendious (and most learned) book on the origin and development of alchemy, and had the privilege of personally discussing the more recent findings of Paul Kraus and Julius Ruska with their authors during the period of the classic investigations of the Jabīr problem, was especially pleased to note that Dr. Taylor has accepted the Kraus-Ruska statements as to the time of origin (ninth or, according to Ruska, even early tenth century) and the authorship (members of an Islamitic religious-philosophical sect) of the Arabian Jabīr manuscripts.

In striking contrast to the so-called "popular" writers on alchemy, the author does not tell the often repeated stories about the fakes and charlatans who tried to cheat the gold-hungry potentates of their times. Although he is very entertaining, his aim is to inform. Hence he quotes from alchemistic writings that have come down to us from different periods, interpreting them in the light of their time of origin and of the general ideas of "alchemy." Referring to C. G. Jung's statement (*Psychologie und Alchimie,* Zurich, 1944) that the alchemists, in studying matter symbolically, were also symbolizing their own mental content, he remarks that "to treat them as psychological material is to miss their real significance, which is the expression of the perfecting of matter in terms of human experience." It is this "real significance" of the alchemists, hence of alchemy, which Taylor throughout his book has tried to extract from the confusing wealth of material. In the opinion of this reviewer he has succeeded.

Excellent is the discussion of the part played by alchemy in the development of modern chemistry. This reviewer refrains from quoting, because the respective chapters ("From Alchemy to Chemistry" and "The Relation of Alchemy to Science") should be read by all those interested.

University of Wisconsin GEORGE URDANG

Ancient and Medieval History

THE EXCAVATIONS AT DURA-EUROPOS, CONDUCTED BY YALE UNIVERSITY AND THE FRENCH ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND LETTERS. Edited by *M. I. Rostovtzeff, et al.* Final Report IV: Part I, Fascicle 2, THE GREEK AND ROMAN POTTERY. By *Dorothy Hannah Cox.* Part IV, Fascicle 1, THE BRONZE OBJECTS. By *Teresa G. Frisch* and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

N. P. Toll. Final Report VI, THE COINS. By *A. R. Bellinger.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. 26, plates; viii, 68, plates; viii, 214, plates. $1.00, $2.00, $5.00.)

HERE are three final reports of the excavations at Dura-Europos (Europos is the official name). Since the city was not settled until about 300 B.C. no good Greek vases were found as at Olynthus. There are few whole pots, and the black and red glazed sherds are fragments of common shapes. There are undecorated shapes which are akin to Olynthian types and show that the early character of the colony was predominantly Macedonian. Unfortunately *Olynthus* XIII had not yet appeared, but Miss Cox draws parallels from *Olynthus* V. Nos. 56–57 have prototypes at Olynthus. Pottery throws light on economic history and the Dura pottery proves that it was a prosperous city at first; and by the late third century, with local ware instead of so much imported ware, it had less vigorous trade relations. There was an economic revival in the second century and trade became active again under Antiochus IV. After the Parthian conquest in 113 B.C. there are few imports of Pergamene or Roman sigillata but in the local Parthian pottery is seen the influence of Roman Pergamene. There is hardly a break with the Parthian tradition for three centuries when copies of non-Parthian ware began to be made. At least part of Dura was distinctly Roman before Dura was captured, about 256 A.D. No use seems to have been made of the *Corpus Vasorum* or of Comfort's many articles on similar wares. On page 14, *Charis* and *Onesa* (the sigma is square not lunar) are not potters' names. Charis, like Chara on a gem in the Metropolitan, as in Pindar, Ruskin, Arnold, and Pater, means "delight" or charm or a souvenir like *doron* which is often wrongly taken by Waage, Iliffe, *et al.,* to be a potter's name (*cf.* Buckler-Robinson, *Sardis,* VII, 1. p. 164; *Inschriften von Priene,* 355, 11 n.; *Olynthus* X, 148–49). *Onesa* should be read *Onesai,* "may it benefit you," like *ep'agathô,* etc., "to your good."

As in the case of the pots, there are no bronzes of great interest or beauty as at Olynthus, Olympia, and Delphi. The ninety-five pierced pieces and the thirty-four enameled pieces are mostly ordinary phalarai, disks, bridle pieces, strap ornaments, razor handles, enameled lockets. There are 168 fibulae of very many types. The material is not extensive enough for chronological distinctions, but all in all the bronze ornaments show a full acquaintance with the Roman provincial bronze style of the Middle Roman period. Most are importations. None shows, as in the pottery, an individual local artistic development. They were found all over Dura but with a certain concentration in the Roman military campus area and in the Agora, part of the outfit of the Roman force of occupation, dating between the second half of the second century and the first half of the third century like those from the German limes. Many were brought to Dura by Roman soldiers, but there was certainly some regular supply through trading channels or routes of trade supplying military posts with exclusive soldier equipment. The many fibulae also show the standardized taste of the Roman legions, with little regard for local manu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

factures. Much use has been made of Blinkenberg, but for earlier types (especially nos. 17, 33, 156) an acquaintance with *Olynthus* X would have been valuable.

The volume on coins is more ambitious and important, bound in cloth, not paper, with an index which is lacking in the other volumes. Professor Bellinger has given us a most scholarly and accurate account of the 14,017 coins found (almost 9,000 civic or provincial issues, the majority of all the coins from the third century A.D.), of the hoards, denominations, countermarks, and symbols, with a chapter on the currency of Dura. The earliest coin is a badly battered Persian siglos of the fifth century B.C., dropped by some traveler, long before Dura was settled. There are four coins of Alexander, one plated, from the mints of Tarsus and Phoenicia, also dating before the founding of Dura, but of course still in use after 300 B.C. as the main medium of exchange in Asia Minor. There is one of Lysimachus, one of Attalus I, but most are Seleucid or Parthian coins from 300 B.C. to the Antoniniani of Valerian (256 A.D.). Dura struck no coins, except for a few years under Antiochus I, when it produced three types previously unknown, and perhaps for a time under the Parthians. Its normal currency was the product of other mints, but there are no coins of Mithradates II. Most of the coins are of known types, but there are twenty-six autonomous pieces of Tyre dated 99–98 B.C. of a type of which there is only one specimen in the British Museum. That the Parthians took Dura in 113 B.C. seems to be substantiated by the coins, though Cumont thought Parthian control was not assured until the end of the second century. The most important numismatic fact of the Seleucid period is that Dura normally got her money from Antioch, though of course a small number of coins came from other mints. "The orientation of Dura in monetary matters is clear." The occupation under Trajan (115–117 A.D.) and the return of the Romans in 165 and the final destruction in 256 A.D. are historical facts attested by the coins. Professor Bellinger's keen analysis assigns Hoard I to a soldier, Hoard II to a shopkeeper. There is no space to tell of other important historical and political evidence produced by these coins, but every student of Roman history and of numismatics will welcome this scholarly and original contribution.

University of Mississippi DAVID M. ROBINSON

PARTY POLITICS IN THE AGE OF CAESAR. By *Lily Ross Taylor*. [Sather Classical Lectures, Volume XXII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 255. $3.50.)

IN 1937 a German, Anton von Premerstein ("Vom Werden u. Wesen des Prinzipats"), and in 1939 an Englishman, Ronald Syme (*The Roman Revolution*) both attempted to interpret the fall of the Roman republic in the light of the rise of National Socialism. This new approach rested upon the solid and meticulous foundation of prosopographical research laid by Gelzer's *Nobilität*, Münzer's *Adelsparteien*, and the more recent studies of these two scholars, and Groag, Stein, and Strasburger in *PIR*, *P-W*, and elsewhere. Dr. Taylor's book presents this point

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of view to an American audience. In it, she maintains the prestige of the Sather Lectureship and the traditions of classical scholarship. This is not small praise, and in the spirit of these same traditions the following observations are made:

(1) The emphasis upon prosopographical research has done more recently to illuminate Roman political history than any other single development. The time has come, however, to repeat Momigliano's warning that "prosopographical research cannot give a sufficient interpretation of this period (and, we would add, of any historical period)" (*JRS* XXX [1940], 77). Dr. Taylor, when she writes: "The strife between *optimates* and *populares* was in theory based on programs, but it was actually no more than a difference in method" (p. 13), makes the same mistake as Syme, when he writes: "The political life of the Roman Republic was stamped and swayed, not by parties and programmes . . . but by the strife for power, wealth and glory" (p. 11). Noble families are not powerful because they combine; they combine because they are powerful, and because their power rests, not upon consanguinity or social contiguity, but upon a common base of material interest without which combination would be fruitless. Nor (for all the weight of Mommsen's words, as quoted on p. 192) is it true that, because two parties are equally corrupt in their methods, their ends are the same, or equally undesirable.

The deceptive fact about politics in Caesar's time is that there were no echelons in Roman political organization: high politics was ward politics, and vice versa. A good comparison is between Roman politics and city-machine politics of today, provided that we remember that in Rome national and not just local issues were so decided. A better comparison is between Caesar's Rome and Walpole's England, where and when the electorate was so small and homogeneous that a national "machine" could be made to work. Haskell's elaboration of this comparison in his nonacademic but excellent study of Cicero's public career (*This Was Cicero,* New York, 1942) is still the best analogical treatment of the subject.

The development of the *Führerprinzip* by Caesar and Augustus was the formal but not the material aspect of the Roman revolution, the façade behind which property was transferred, a new class structure was built, a multiform conflict of interest was resolved, and, above all, the imperial necessity for unity of military command was met. If the terms "Senatorial Party" and "Popular Party" are misleading, so are the words "feudal" (Syme) and "totalitarian" (Taylor). Medieval feudalism involves clientage, but not all clientage is feudal. Again, a government can be authoritarian without being totalitarian. The principate had not the means, even had it had the intention, to embrace all men and the whole man after the way of contemporary totalitarianism.

(2) When the Roman republic fell, the political class lost political liberty. To many of us, as to Cato Uticensis, this was catastrophic. The philosophic historian, however, might point out that in all ages some men, and in some ages most men, have considered political liberty as less desirable than certain other goods (*e.g.,* economic security or life everlasting), or at best as merely a means toward a way of life which is nonpolitical (see Syme, p. 513). And, as a matter of fact, political

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liberty was not entirely extinguished with the principate; it persisted in local communities (*e.g.*, Pompeii) and in provincial *Concilia* (see *e.g.*, *Cod. Theod.* XII, 12, 11 sqq. and *CAH* XI, 471 ff.). What Augustus did was to remove the determination of imperial policy from the environment of a single city. By this, much was lost but not everything, for the great achievement of the Roman political genius was not national but municipal self-government, and that outlived not only the fall of the Roman republic but even the fall of Rome.

(3) Polybius is not a good witness for the Roman attitude toward religion in his own time. Indeed, even a century later, the remarkable thing about Rome is not how irreligious but how religious were political leaders like Sulla and Caesar. As for Cicero, the death of his daughter revealed how shallow was the polite skepticism which he sometimes affected. Nor does it follow from the fact that priests and dynasts use religion for other than religious ends that they are unbelievers. This is to confuse religion with ethics. Indeed, it is only in an intensely religious environment, in which the majority of people and priests believe, that religion can be so used.

(4) "Apparently" (p. 12) is too weak a word to qualify Cicero's awareness of the difference between the Roman republic and Greek democracies (see *Pro Flacco*, vii, 15). The influence of political clubs in delivering the vote is understated (note the senate's prohibition of 64 B.C., Clodius' repeal of it in 58, and the *Lex Licinia* of 55). On page 81, for *auspicia imperativa* read *auspicia impetrativa* (see Serv. *Verg. A.* 6, 190). On page 59 "in the years 70–75" is an error; should 70–55 be read?

(5) The third chapter ("Delivering the Vote") attempts an analysis of Roman group-voting which is the best to date, and, if studied in conjunction with the fourth chapter ("Manipulating the State Religion"), gives an excellent picture of Roman electioneering methods.

Ohio State University W. F. McDONALD

LES RELIGIONS DE L'EUROPE ANCIENNE. Tome III: LES RELIGIONS ÉTRUSQUE ET ROMAINE. By *Albert Grenier*. LES RELIGIONS DES CELTES, DES GERMAINS, ET DES ANCIENS SLAVES. By *Joseph Vendryès, Ernest Tonnelat,* and *B.-O. Unbegaun*. [Collection "MANA": Introduction à l'Histoire des Religions, tome 2.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1948. Pp. 467. 500 fr.)

THREE volumes on ancient religion in the Orient have already been published in this series, and this is the first to appear of the three volumes on the religion of ancient Europe. The series is apparently written for the general reader and there is an effort, which is usually successful, to avoid technicalities. There are no footnotes, but for the specialist there is a classified analytical bibliography that is admirable for its up-to-date character but forbidding to the reader because of the very small type used.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The plan imposed on the authors limits their freedom of scope by removing from discussion the origin of Christianity which is to be treated in a later volume. Unbegaun, author of the section on Slavic religion, could not, because of the nature of his evidence, accept the limitation, and it is a gain for his discussion that for knowledge of Slavic paganism he is often dependent on Christian documents.

For the reviewer the sections on the Etruscans written by Albert Grenier and on the Celts by Joseph Vendryès are the most interesting in the book. In spite of the fragmentary character of the evidence the authors are remarkably successful in their picture of religion in the framework of Etruscan and Celtic culture. It may be no fault of Tonnelat and Unbegaun that a comparable picture of religion in Germanic and Slavic culture does not emerge. For these peoples the inadequate evidence has necessarily to be considered geographically, and there is nothing like the Druids and the tribal gods of the Celts to bind it together. Perhaps it was impossible in the limited space allowed Grenier for his discussion of Roman religion to present adequately the place of religion in Roman civilization. The trouble here is not dearth of evidence but an over supply.

Since the reviewer is less qualified to judge the other sections, specific discussion will be confined to Grenier's treatment of Etruscan and Roman religion. Grenier is a distinguished Etruscologist who knows the Etruscans so well that he does not overestimate their influence on Rome. He regards the Etruscans as a people of eastern origin who brought "Mediterranean" religion to Italy, but he recognizes in Etruscan religion the influence of Italic or "continental" traditions. He protests vehemently against the general view that the Etruscans were obsessed by fear of death and punishment in the next world. Following Van Essen and others, he interprets scenes and symbols of Etruscan art not as indications of Etruscan beliefs but as conventional themes and designs, largely of Greek origin. Etruscan religion is described as a "revealed" religion, expounded in a series of sacred books that set forth the will of the gods, the means of understanding it, and of appeasing, at need, the wrath of the gods. The sacred books are lost, but Grenier is very successful in reconstructing them. Etruscan religion he says (p. 70), was *"toute la science et toutes les sciences"*—the science of heaven, the science of earth, the science of city founding and temple building, the science of social and military organization.

On Roman religion Grenier has written a clear and competent account, better balanced, though less original, than Altheim's *History of Roman Religion* (New York, 1937). Grenier does not make the too common mistake of overemphasizing the early calendar of festivals; he realizes that for the Romans of the historical period newer gods and the pageantry of the great games were often more important in religion than the ancient deities and the obscure rites of the calendar. I am inclined to question his statement (p. 149) that for the state religion *"la croyance n'a q'une importance secondaire."* The widespread faith in divination, both orthodox and unorthodox—a subject that might well have had more attention—proves that among the masses there was belief in the potency of the gods, even the gods of the state cult.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nor was the state cult in complete decay under Augustus. No one would deny that Augustus restored many temples and revived forgotten rites. Yet some of the revivals attributed to him are to be questioned. Thus the well-authenticated story of Mark Antony as *Lupercus* offering a crown to Caesar should be mentioned when the statement is made (pp. 113, 187, doubtless on the authority of Suetonius, *Augustus* 31) that Augustus restored the festival of the *Lupercalia*. Nor is there any evidence that Augustus' rebuilding of temples led to the institution of new dedication days. The republican calendar of Antium (which Grenier here overlooks, p. 105) proves that February 17 was a festival of the temple of Quirinus before Augustus. It is probable that whenever we have two temple festivals, one of them is the date of the institution of the worship (*constitutio*), the other the date of the dedication of the shrine. Such double dates are recorded for Augustus' Ara Fortunae Reducis and Ara Pacis Augustae.

For the relation of Roman religion to Roman culture the chapters on the empire are the most successful. The sections on religion in the Augustan poets, the imperial cult and the Oriental religions provide interesting reading. These chapters are an admirable introduction to the discussion of the early Christians which is to appear in a subsequent volume.

Bryn Mawr College LILY ROSS TAYLOR

ARNOBIUS OF SICCA: THE CASE AGAINST THE PAGANS. In two volumes. Newly Translated and Annotated by *George E. McCracken,* Professor of Classics, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. [Ancient Christian Writers, Nos. 7, 8.] (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press. 1949. Pp. 372; 375–659. $3.50, $3.25.)

TRANSLATIONS of Arnobius are neither numerous nor readily available: a Dutch translation was made in 1677; there are two in German (1842 and 1858); and the only English translation prior to the present one appeared in 1871. In view of the very considerable work which has been done on the *Adversus Nationes* in the past seventy-five years, a new translation with critical notes incorporating the results of this research is most welcome. These two volumes are the fruit of great diligence and industry; the translation is good with only rare infelicities, and the notes are, for the most part, impressive.

Arnobius of Africa, a late third century rhetorician, was an enthusiastic convert to Christianity. With more spirit than knowledge, he undertook to defend his new religion and to attack paganism. Never content to use one word where a hundred would suffice, the work of Arnobius would, as McCracken says, "have profited much by the judicious use of an editorial blue pencil." Although he had read many pagan and Christian authors, among them Plato, Lucretius, Cicero, Varro, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, Arnobius was not so familiar with the books of the Old and New Testaments. As a result, his arguments derive more from his native wit than from authority and are thereby made more interesting to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the modern reader. His attack upon philosophy (Book II) is positively brilliant and far surpasses any other sections of his work.

In his introduction (pp. 7–12), McCracken deals with the question of the date of the composition of the *Adversus Nationes*. He concludes that A.D. 311 is a *terminus ante quem* for the work as a whole and that Books I and II may be dated about 297. On this point, I should like to suggest that there are certain passages in Book I which may be significant. In I, 3, 9, and 14 there are phrases reminiscent of Diocletian's Edict of Prices. I do not mean to suggest that Arnobius ever saw the text of the edict; but he may be repeating the words of the man in the street at the close of the third century. The reference to earthquakes (I, 3) reminds one of the seismic disturbance which shook Tyre and Sidon (either A.D. 302 or early 303). In I, 16 a victory over the Alamanni is mentioned which recalls the exploits of Constantius Chlorus in A.D. 298, and in the same section there is a reference to the Zeugitani (or Quinque-gentiani?) who were defeated by Maximian in that year. It is possible, therefore, that A.D. 297 is too early for Book I.

On page 7 it is stated that Diocletian reigned from 284 to 304 A.D. This must be a misprint. In note 107, page 595, it might have been well to qualify the statement that the Hermes of Praxiteles at Olympia is an original.

University of Minnesota TOM B. JONES

CONSTANTIN DER GROSSE UND SEIN JAHRHUNDERT. By *Joseph Vogt*. (Munich: Münchner Verlag. 1949. Pp. 303. DM. 14,50.)

IT must be deeply distressing to those earnest souls who would reduce history to the study of rising and falling "cultures" or of cyclical revolutions carried out by downtrodden masses of the genus "common man," that the great personalities of the past still command so much attention and find their chroniclers among the ablest of writers. There has been a spate of books about Alexander, and Constantine has not lagged far behind. Alföldi's notable monograph and A. H. M. Jones's popular booklet appeared in 1948 (*cf. American Journal of Archaeology*, LIII, 421–22); in 1949 Burckhardt's *Constantine* was issued in an English version and Mr. Vogt's admirable study was published. Intended for the general reader, it can be read with profit by specialists also, for it is a model of clear and judicious writing and interpretation.

Approximately one half of the book (pp. 10–136) is devoted to the political and economic crisis of the third century and the tetrarchy, the rest to the career, aims, and achievement of Constantine. The treatment of pagan religions in the third century and of Christianity is also excellent, though one may disagree on particular points. Thus the statement (p. 89) that since the beginning of the third century Christians entered all classes and professions of the ancient world is too sweeping. Against local evidence from Phrygian inscriptions and a rhetorical passage in Tertullian (*Apologeticus* 42) must be set Hippolytus' express prohibition (*ca.* 215 A.D.) to Christians of military service or municipal and imperial of-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fice. The most that one is justified in assuming is that conditions varied locally and that church leaders in some areas were more liberal than in others. Mr. Vogt tries (p. 199) to reconcile two opposing views about the presiding officer at the Council of Nicaea, when he says that a bishop presided but that Constantine reserved the right to intervene at any point. As he admits what is now generally conceded, that the procedure was modeled on that of the senate, it is surely more reasonable to assume that the emperor was in the chair (*cf.* on this, N. H. Baynes, *Constantine and the Christian Church,* p. 88). Mr. Vogt is also too skeptical when he doubts whether a second council was convened by the emperor at Nicaea in 327; for the facts of the case were demonstrated by Seeck, whose main conclusions have been accepted by Schwartz, Baynes, and others. On the other hand, he rightly agrees with those scholars who regard the conversion of the emperor in 312 as a historic fact of far-reaching importance; and, indeed, the whole development of Constantine's religious policy during twenty-five years is finely presented.

Some useful bibliographical notes and a serviceable index complete the volume, and there are sixteen fair illustrations, mostly imperial portraits.

Cornell University M. L. W. Laistner

L'ÉTAT POLONAIS AU MOYEN-AGE: HISTOIRE DES INSTITUTIONS. By *Zygmunt Wojciechowski,* Professeur à l'Université de Poznan. Préface de M. Pierre Petot. Traduction de M. Bernard Hamel. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit, Publication no. 7.] (Paris: Recueil Sirey. 1949. Pp. 365.)

This French translation is, as a matter of fact, a revised third edition of the author's survey of Poland's constitutional history in the Middle Ages, first published in Polish in 1945. It is much more than a text for graduate students: in hundreds of footnotes the whole source material is quoted, all controversial problems are thoroughly discussed, and the conclusions give a penetrating analysis of native elements and foreign influences in the development of the Polish state. The great interest of these issues from the point of view of comparative history is rightly stressed in the preface.

After a short introductory chapter on the origin of the state of the Piasts, a second chapter studies the period of the predominance of the power of the prince, from the middle of the tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth century, while the rest of the book constitutes one long chapter of two hundred pages, dealing with what the author calls "the corporate state." To treat the last three centuries of medieval Poland as one whole, seems rather questionable. With regard to the division of Poland's constitutional, legal, and social development into chronological periods, Professor Wojciechowski follows, as in most other questions, his master, Oswald Balzer, to whom the book is dedicated. But the point of view of Stanislaw Kutrzeba, the other leading scholar in that field, who saw a decisive turning point toward the end of the fourteenth century, appears more justified to the present reviewer. An organization of the material which puts together centuries as different

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as the thirteenth and the fifteenth—the latter difficult to separate from sixteenth century Poland, to the decisive years from 1569 to 1573—leaves the reader unaware of the basic contrast between the hereditary monarchy of the Piasts and the elective, parliamentary kingdom of the Jagellonians, united in a federal system with the Lithuanian grand duchy. Such an approach makes it difficult to give adequate information on the institutions in Lithuania proper and in the Ruthenian lands, and it is in the comparatively brief paragraphs on these important problems that can be found most of the minor inaccuracies in an otherwise excellent and very reliable book.

In general, the author is at his best when he discusses the Poland of the Piasts before and after the somewhat overemphasized turn around 1200. Both the legal aspects of Poland's foreign relations, particularly with the empire and the papacy, and the most difficult problems of internal organization, as, for instance, the process of colonization under German law or the origin of the nobility, are clearly and sometimes brilliantly presented, and are the results of Professor Wojciechowski's personal research work.

More than twenty of his earlier publications are included in the very valuable and comprehensive bibliography: most of the 445 titles are in Polish, but all available translations or summaries in French or German are carefully indicated. The chronological list of rulers is hardly satisfactory, as far as the period of dynastic divisions (1138–1320) is concerned, but the three maps which illustrate these divisions, the reunion under Casimir the Great, and the territorial climax around 1466, are very clear and helpful.

Fordham University O. Halecki

THE REIGN OF KING JOHN. By *Sidney Painter*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 397. $5.50.)

Powicke's recent work on Henry III begins with the death of King John. Painter ends his volume abruptly with the same event, and presumably, in doing so, offers his work as a prelude to Powicke's. Readers for whom Powicke's approach is stimulating will find this volume an interesting companion piece with similar emphasis on the numerous personalities and their special interests. The author deliberately restricts himself to political and administrative matters in England, and in this way, we may believe, treats of those things regarded as most important by King John and his barons. He is bold enough to think that his "general reader with a fondness for the Middle Ages" can manage a page adorned with footnotes, for which this reviewer applauds him. He is willing to take issue, where appropriate, with other scholars—Richardson, Powicke, and Cheyney. And he does not hestitate to present opinions based upon the personal impressions resulting from his long study of the sources and his thoughtful and imaginative consideration of the period and of the men whose activities he is evaluating. Who else, it may be asked, would be more competent to formulate such opinions? Too

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

often the withholding of opinions is a form of scholarly timidity disguised as objectivity.

"It is extremely difficult," Painter writes, "and probably futile for an historian to attempt to pass judgment on either John or his foes. I am convinced that the king never had the slightest intention of observing Magna Carta to a greater extent than was absolutely necessary. But it is important to remember that this conviction is based on an interpretation of John's character and general policy rather than on his actions during the month after the charter was sealed." One of the most interesting features of this book is the continuous and convincing effort to characterize King John neither as a tyrannical villain nor as a misunderstood statesman but as a figure comprehensible in terms of the political circumstances in which he acted, a less than admirable man with considerable ability, who might have dominated western Europe had the French been defeated at Bouvines. As for the barons, "they hated and distrusted the king. They were convinced that he had no intention of keeping his promises if he could possibly avoid doing so. As I believe they were right, I cannot but sympathize with them. But if one judges them by their actions, their position becomes indefensible."

Since the author assumes that history is the activity of persons, he emphasizes the role of individuals and attempts to describe their personal interests. This leads him to make an extensive, specific analysis, "perhaps in too much detail," of the baronage, and of the administrative personnel, an "extremely complicated" subject. Such a task involves consideration of relationships both by blood and marriage, genealogies, the handing about of specific pieces of property, contested claims as to inheritance, and royal gifts. Here is much hard scholarly work based upon long study of the chancery rolls. It clearly represents the chief concern of the ruling classes in early thirteenth century England. It is very intricate and to the twentieth century reader somewhat monotonous. Probably in seven centuries future readers will react similarly to the story of that political patronage which helps our American government to function today. The careful study of the baronial party prior to Magna Carta is particularly interesting as offering a description and explanation of the various ties which bound the group together. Some of this is a little bewildering to the reader who has not mastered all the names of John's contemporaries. But the data on the whole baronage shows only about half of them in revolt and destroys "the old notion of a united baronage rising against King John." The author also feels sure "that the revolt was largely baronial and that only a small proportion of the lesser free-tenants took part," but admits this conclusion is "based largely on speculation."

Williams College RICHARD A. NEWHALL

THE LITERATURE OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS. By *George K. Anderson.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 431. $5.00.)

IN this book, *literature* is used to cover practically everything written in Eng-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

land during the Anglo-Saxon period, even including the glosses of Latin texts, and the reader who has mastered it will have an excellent introduction to Anglo-Saxon thought. If he has the perseverance to master also the very copious references in notes and bibliography which accompany each chapter, he will indeed be an accomplished scholar of the period—provided, of course, that he has not overlooked the trifling matter of reading the literature itself in the original. The translations in this text, like practically all others this reviewer has encountered, do not reproduce the flavor of Anglo-Saxon literature. A rather full index should help the reader to find bibliographical material without having to search through the notes at the end of each chapter.

Although most experts in the field will find points of difference with Anderson's literary judgments, these are on the whole well balanced, giving credit where the author believes credit is due without falling into the uncritical enthusiasm for everything in his field which sometimes afflicts the specialist.

In the opening chapter, which deals with the history of the Anglo-Saxons, Anderson is driven by the need for condensation into some rather sweeping generalizations. To comment on all of these—even if there were any point in doing so in reviewing a book which is primarily a literary history—would take too long; but perhaps one example would be in order. On page 20 we find the statement: "All the evidence of early Old English literature points to a provincialism, even a parochialism, of outlook. . . . It is not until the middle of the tenth century that . . . Edgar becomes . . . the first sovereign of a united England." Many, including this reviewer, would question whether this was true of the church or of Bede. The *Angli* of Bede's *Historia* are pretty plainly not Angles, in the narrow sense, but Englishmen. Even in secular affairs, the idea of hegemony among the kings of Britain, which seems to have appeared rather early, may strike some as a foreshadowing of closer unity. The idea usually precedes the fact. There are enough other generalizations on history which call for debate or qualification that the student would be well advised to consult other texts or the actual documents of the period before he accepts or rejects them.

In dealing with the literature itself, Anderson has more space for discussion and qualification of general ideas. There are, however, some points of detail which I consider doubtful. After all, general knowledge can be no sounder than the detail which supports it.

The discussion of Anglo-Saxon prosody (pp. 47–50) does not mention the possibility that the Anglo-Saxons may have regarded as a couplet what is conventionally printed as a line, although Anderson does mention that when rhyme occurs it is usually the two "half-lines" that rhyme. On page 112 the phrase "Bede, the saintly abbot at Jarrow," presumably a slip of the pen, is likely to come as a shock to most biographers of Bede. The spelling *Moor* Manuscript on page 165 is a less startling error. In commenting on the story of Caedmon, Anderson points out that such tales are not uncommon in folklore. To complete the picture, it might have been just to remark that the event was relatively close to Bede in both

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time and space and that such unmythological characters as Coleridge and Voltaire are supposed to have composed poetry in dreams. While the doubt whether *Caedmon's Hymn* is anything but a translation of Bede's Latin is certainly justified, Anderson may seem to some to state it rather too strongly on page 113. In fact, Anderson seems to be particularly skeptical in matters related to Bede. On page 233 we find the statement *"Bede's Death-Song* is probably not his" simply because "it is in the vernacular." This implies a rejection (completely undocumented) of the authenticity of Cuthbert's *De Obitu Bedae* which I cannot recall encountering elsewhere and which does not seem to me to be justified by the style and content of the document itself. The statement on page 212 concerning the complete absence of prose in English before the time of Alfred the Great also seems to ignore or reject the *De Obitu.*

In the chapter on Anglo-Latin, the statement that Alcuin was inferior to Bede as a writer might perhaps be limited to prose, and to call the almost illiterate *Vita Antiquissima Gregorii Magni* similar to the lively and reasonably literate *Vita Wilfridi* of Eddius Stephanus is hardly a fair estimate of the latter. On page 117 the statement "Of course, the Latin poetic influences are discernible in both the Caedmonian poems and *Beowulf"* may seem to some a trifle overpositive, considering the possibilities of mere coincidence. From what we know of the knowledge of Vergil in England, some influence seems probable; but to prove that influence beyond the peradventure of a doubt from the texts themselves might be something else again.

The final chapter on the proper approach to the study of Anglo-Saxon writings seems to me to embody a sound view and one which the author follows pretty consistently in the book itself. The practice of discussing the literature by types, rather than in a strictly chronological pattern, lends itself to the study of ideas without detracting from a consideration of the literary qualities of the works discussed.

The book furnishes a good introduction to Anglo-Saxon literature and thought for the beginner and provides one only moderately acquainted with the period with a very full list of materials for further study, both in original documents and in scholarly commentary.

University of Colorado J. D. A. Ogilvy

ENGLISH ART, 1307–1461. By *Joan Evans.* [The Oxford History of English Art, Volume V.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xxiv, 272, plates. $10.00.)

This volume is the first to appear of eleven in the projected series which aims, in the words of the editor, T. S. R. Boase, "to set out chronologically the development of the visual arts as part of the general history of England." Each will be by a different author and complete in itself. Miss Evans, distinguished for her works on the medieval art of France, is well qualified to evaluate French and Flemish in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fluences on English art, and yet to do full justice to distinctive native features. The period she covers here is the era of the decorated and perpendicular styles, the latter "emphatically English." Included are not only cathedrals and parish churches, castles and dwelling houses, colleges and chantries, but tombs, stained glass, alabaster effigies and brasses, plate, psalters, painting, heraldry, embroideries (*opus anglicanum*) and the ubiquitous "babewyns" (grotesques) mentioned by Chaucer. The development of the last-named "reflects the constancy of English taste, that always enjoys amusing irrelevancies." This scope makes possible what a history of a single art lacks—comparisons, evidence of the influence of one art upon another, or of one source of inspiration in various manifestations: a pattern book used by designers of copes "might equally well have been used for certain fourteenth-century manuscripts, while certain designs, such as brocade-like patterns for gesso backgrounds and mouldings for frames, suggest that it was also used by painters of retables and panel pictures."

The evolution of a given type is traced by detailed analysis of many specific examples (for some arts virtually all the extant monuments). Characteristic local variations are also noted—the North or West, East Anglian, London. On the whole the book seems designed for specialists. The ordinary student of history or literature may lack the patience and the technical vocabulary to follow the treatment of some of these arts. Others are understandable enough, however, and the glimpses Miss Evans affords of the historical and social background should inform and delight both the historian and the literary critic. For instance, there are quotations from Chaucer and Wycliffe, and epitaphs in Latin, French, and English. We are introduced to patrons of the arts: kings, bishops, lords, and merchant princes ("woolmen's brasses"). Richard II, born in France and reared by French people, "brought something of French magnificence into English heraldic decoration." He was a "dilettante of taste, with a passion for the pageantry of kingship. Under his leadership all the arts in England entered upon a phase of fruition." The great William of Wykeham, founder and patron of Winchester College and New College, Oxford, had served earlier as "clerk of the works" at Windsor, then keeper and surveyor of the other royal castles. Interesting light is thrown on the effects of the Black Death, the status of the various monastic orders, and the character of colleges and chantries. Incidentally how much of artistic value was destroyed at the Reformation is revealed by the "Reformation inventories." We learn how York Minster and other projects were financed, and meet various craftsmen—London brass founders and tapicers, German masons and brick makers, a Dutch goldsmith, traveling illuminators.

Essential in a work of this kind are the diagrams and ninety-six excellent plates. An elaborate bibliography contains both standard works and highly specialized essays and articles, and there is also a good index.

University of Minnesota FAITH THOMPSON

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUDGMENT BY PEERS. By *Barnaby C. Keeney,* Associate Professor of History and Dean of the Graduate School, Brown University. [Harvard Historical Monographs, XX.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. 191. $2.50.)

THIS reviewer states at once that it is time to end that printer's convenience and author's and reader's bane—footnotes at the back of a book, as reducing their value and verging on the slipshod. Footnotes should be where they can be used (their only virtue)—at the bottom of the page. Their relegation to the rear is a disservice to this sound monograph on the origins and developments through the fifteenth century of trial by peers.

While showing conclusively the Continental, feudal origins of the procedure, the study is devoted largely to its development in England after 1066. The interpretation of clause thirty-nine (with the famous *"vel"*) of Magna Carta (pp. 66–68) is excellent logically and historically. The study gives a reason why the barons upset little of Angevin judicial machinery, their own use of it (p. 47). Valuable is evidence that barons, like crown, ignored the procedure when it suited their immediate convenience, notably during the turbulence of the fifteenth century. The result was, as Professor Keeney points out, that the barons by 1500 had not made good their claim to trial only by peers. But a misinterpretation of Magna Carta had given commoners the right to jury trials (p. 107).

At some places I divide from Professor Keeney, who may not be the one in error. It seems misleading to say that witan trials in Anglo-Saxon England had a "superficial resemblance" to the later feudal procedure (p. 36), unless their occasional, expedient nature is emphasized. I think that clause thirty-nine of Magna Carta must be read with clause twenty-one for the complete baronial claim. They are combined in clause twenty-nine of the 1225 charter, which is cited (p. 75) without noting that it is of this later version. There should be mention that after the withdrawal of royal assent to the law of 1341 (p. 96) parliament formally repealed it (15 Edw. III Stat. 2), thereby barring individual waivers of trial by peers as originally provided. Not entirely satisfying are reasons supporting the view that the Court of the Lord High Steward first tried a peer in 1400. Harcourt's arguments for the first such trial a century later may be "flimsy" (p. 105); but those of the monograph (although they cannot be dismissed) are somewhat labored. This point will remain moot until more precise evidence is found. In this connection, the inclusion of a complete bibliography for the monograph would have increased its already obvious merit.

University of Southern California COLIN RHYS LOVELL

THE NORSE DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS IN AMERICA. By *Edward Reman.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 201. $3.50.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Professor Arthur G. Brodeur, the editor of this book, tells us in the preface that the author was a native of Norway and died in Los Angeles in 1945, and that he was a careful scholar as well as an experienced seaman and navigator. They never met but for a long time corresponded, principally on this subject, and Professor Brodeur copied and rewrote the author's manuscript without, however, interfering with his opinions. Moreover, we are told that never before has the testimony of the saga texts been so searchingly studied, and that "this study has borne fruit in sharper, more critical interpretations, in the detection of long-cherished errors, and in conclusions many of which are completely, some startlingly, new." To what extent this praise is justified, the book will show.

The two sources for these discoveries, the *Saga of Eric the Red* and the *Tale of the Greenlanders,* were written in Iceland some three hundred years after the events they tell about took place. Like some writers on the subject, who knew these two sagas but were not familiar with the saga literature in general, the author virtually accepts them both as historical documents, and ascribes their differences to the fact that the *Saga* represents the Icelandic tradition, the *Tale* the Greenland one. Underlying his interpretations of them is the theory about a milder climate in the North in those early days than at present. This climatic theory is much disputed, and no conclusive evidence of it has as yet been forthcoming. There is nothing particularly new in the author's interpretations of the voyages of Leif, Thorvald, and Freydís, but he takes more things there for granted than is permissible. When, however, he comes to interpreting Karlsefni's expedition as told in the *Saga,* we meet with these startlingly new conclusions of his. Both sources make Karlsefni follow the same route south along the east coast of this continent as the other voyages. The author instead, partly on the strength of the climatic theory, makes him sail from Greenland into Ungava Bay and find there such forests that he called the surrounding country Markland (Forestland), yet this is outside the present limit of trees. From there he makes him sail west through Hudson Strait and across Hudson Bay and land in Chesterfield Inlet in the northwest corner of the bay. There is his Straumfjord. Next summer he makes him sail south along the west shore of Hudson Bay and land at the mouth of Nelson River. There is his Hóp. All this, of course, is sheer nonsense and shows the author's incompetence in dealing with the sources. Needless to say the book contributes nothing to a solution of the problem.

We must, however, give the author credit for one thing. He does not believe in the genuineness of the Norse remains which have been "discovered" on this continent and which of late have been widely publicized even by persons who ought to know better.

Cornell University Halldór Hermannsson

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Modern European History

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA TOWARD NATIONALISM IN GERMANY, ITALY, AND POLAND. By *Hannah Alice Straus.* [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 558.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 164. $2.75.)

Dr. Straus's brief thesis on the attitude of the Congress of Vienna toward nationalism is one of the many gifts which the seminar of Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes at Columbia University has brought in the last twenty years to American scholarship. It was Professor Hayes who introduced the study of nationalism, not only to the United States but, it might be said, to the English-speaking world. Especially helpful was his clear recognition, communicated to his students, that nationalism in the sense in which we use the word today did not exist on the continent of Europe before the French Revolution. On the other hand, European historians, especially the Germans, but not only the Germans, tried to discover nationalism as far back in history as possible. Not only did they do it because they were so enthusiastic about nationalism as to be unable to imagine very long and fruitful periods of history without it; the predating of nationalism served to them, above all, as a basis for present-day nationalist claims and aspirations.

By these historians the Congress of Vienna has been violently condemned for its disregard of nationalism, especially in the case of Germany, Italy, and Poland. Dr. Straus carefully distinguishes between these three cases. A distinct national consciousness and an intense national patriotism existed only in Poland, and there only among the upper classes. In Germany and in Italy, however, a general feeling of national unity and national consciousness, as opposed to local patriotism, was still lacking. The very complaints of the few enthusiastic nationalists, the lonely intellectual forerunners of the later waves of popular nationalism, makes this absence clear. Under these circumstances the Congress of Vienna would have had to consist of visionaries to take the future growth of nationalism into consideration. Nevertheless, all the participants in the Congress of Vienna recognized the existence and importance of the nascent spirit of nationalism, but even the nationalists amongst them were motivated by thoughts of political aggrandizement of their traditional local or dynastic entity and used nationalism largely as a vehicle for their purposes. Even the few sincere nationalists found their new national loyalty intermingled with, and counteracted by, their old universal and local loyalties.

The Prussian delegates, among them Wilhelm von Humboldt, showed, above all in Prussia's interest and in reliance upon the Prussian army, a distinct leaning toward German national unity. The return of Napoleon from Elba pleased them immensely. Caroline von Humboldt wrote her husband from Berlin that the Prussian army saw in the new war "the great crisis needed to cleanse and unite Germany." But these Prussians, among them Humboldt, resisted to the utmost all regard for Polish nationalism. It apparently never occurred to them, Dr. Straus

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

writes, "that the Poles could feel for Poland what the Germans felt for Germany. The essentially egocentric and egoistic character of nationalism itself is strikingly illustrated in their reaction."

Though Dr. Straus does not go as far as Peter Viereck in his recent brilliant study, *Conservatism Revisited,* in her vindication of Metternich's policy, he emerges from her study as a faithful servant of the dominant universal and dynastic loyalties of the time and not as a blind reactionary. He saw clearly the dangers inherent in the policy of military expansion which he suspected in Prussia and in Sardinia, "the Prussia of the South." The true loyalties of the large majority of the Italian people were expressed by the delegate of Genoa who in fighting for the rebirth of the ancient Genoese republic maintained that no spirit of national unity could exist "in the amalgamation of two peoples, Genoese and Piedmontese, divided by their character, their habits, and by invincible antipathy." Much of the weakness of Italy today can be ascribed to the fact that nationalistic fervor tried to force a premature close union, for the sake of power, on peoples with different characters and traditions. Nor did the obliteration of these differences in Germany make for a happier Germany or for a more peaceful Europe. Talleyrand feared that an enlarged Prussia might become "a military monarchy very dangerous to her neighbors, and in this assumption nothing would serve her better than the great number of enthusiasts who, under the pretext of seeking a fatherland, would create one by the most fatal upheavals."

In some respects, though by no means in all respects, the men at the Congress of Vienna showed themselves not entirely devoid of farsighted statesmanship and of a sense for the needs of Europe and of peace which contrasted with the revolutionary enthusiasm of the few but dedicated nationalist intellectuals who felt the winds of the future blowing through the sails of the ships which they were eager to entrust to unchartered and storm-tossed seas. The Congress of Vienna, after more than twenty years of warfare, wished above all to restabilize Europe on familiar and tried foundations, and in that it was supported by the majority of the peoples.

City College of New York HANS KOHN

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871–1914). 2e Série (1901–1911), Tome X (10 AVRIL 1906–16 MAI 1907). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1948. Pp. xxxx, 840.)

THESE valuable documents extend from the end of the Algeciras Conference, at which everyone heaved a sigh of relief, to the final signing of the Anglo-French-Spanish accords "for the maintenance of the territorial status quo and the rights of France and Spain in the Mediterranean and in that part of the Atlantic which washes the shores of Europe and Africa" (p. 803). Many documents naturally re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

late the negotiations for implementing the Algeciras agreement—the establishment of a Moroccan bank and police force, Franco-Spanish naval collaboration for the protection of Tangiers against Raisuli and other bandits, and the unwilling acceptance by the sultan of Morocco of all these measures.

During these thirteen months the balance in the system of alliances was gradually shifting. The weakening of the Triple Alliance was indicated not only by the perennial friction between Italy and Austria but also by angry recriminations between Rome and Berlin, notably at the time of Edward VII's visit to Gaeta. On the other hand, the Anglo-French entente grew closer with continued secret military conversations and with Grey's assurance of military as well as naval support to France (pp. 797–98). To France's great satisfaction the negotiations for a parallel Anglo-Russian entente made steady progress, but only slowly because of Izvolski's hesitations and fears of wounding German susceptibilities. Conversations as to the Bagdad railway, for which Germany needed funds and in which England desired participation, came to nothing because the Triple Entente powers unitedly insisted to Germany on negotiations *à quatre,* whereas Germany tried to divide them by bilateral negotiations.

Aside from Moroccan sequelae and the system of Great Power alliances, the subjects given most attention are the efforts of France and Italy to rescue Izvolski from his embarrassment over the Second Hague Conference by finding a formula that would reconcile Grey's desire for a discussion of the limitation of armaments with the kaiser's absolute rejection of the idea; Anglo-French-Italian negotiations for an accord on Abyssinia and a French extension of the Djibuti railway to Addis Ababa; and numerous proposals for international loans—by England to Russia; by England and Russia to Persia; by Austria-Hungary to Russia; and by France to Italy, Serbia, Bulgaria, Japan, and Russia. France, beside gaining political benefits from such loans, usually secured a double economic advantage by stipulating that a generous percentage of the proceeds of the loan should be used in buying armaments or other goods in France (pp. 27, 487, 515).

There are no startlingly new revelations in these eight hundred pages, but there are many interesting minor details on policies and persons, such as the following profiles. "Nicholas II is undecided and pig-headed, suspicious and credulous, weak and obstinately attached to autocracy, influenced excessively easily and incapable of giving his confidence resolutely; furthermore, he does not understand the rules of the representative regime that he has instituted," wrote the French ambassador in St. Petersburg (p. 182).

Ferdinand of Bulgaria was, according to Paléologue: "adroit, astute, very secretive, confiding in no one, effeminate in spite of his tall stature. . . . He has neither instinct nor taste for military affairs. He almost never is seen on horseback; never has contact with soldiers; never commands at maneuvers. . . . After twenty years of rule he has not been able to attach to himself his people or his country. His subjects he privately calls, 'My Bulgarian wolves'" (pp. 782, 801).

Count Monts, when asked by Luzzatti about Germany's Moroccan policy re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plied, "Which policy are you talking about? We had three of them, that of the kaiser, that of the chancellor, and that of Holstein. I admit that with these three giving directions, it was difficult to follow a good policy, as events showed" (p. 126).

Edward VII, speaking of Roosevelt's proposal for spelling reform, said in an aside at dinner, out of the hearing of the American ambassador: "It is an absurdity, but the President resembles the emperor of Germany, he likes to make himself talked about" (p. 305).

The editorial work, made difficult by the burning of some of the archives on August 25, 1944, is a model of excellence. The increased number of footnote references to *Die Grosse Politik*, the *British Documents* and other sources is very welcome.

Harvard University SIDNEY B. FAY

THE COMING OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR: A STUDY IN THE EUROPEAN BALANCE, 1878–1914. By *Nicholas Mansergh,* Abe Bailey Professor of British Commonwealth Relations at the Royal Institute of International Affairs. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1949. Pp. xiv, 257. $3.25.)

IN the great days of the "war guilt" controversy, Englishmen had little to say on the matter, being content apparently to leave it to G. P. Gooch, the late H. W. Wilson, and the biographers of Lansdowne, Nicolson, and Grey. What debate there was ceased in 1939 and was not resumed after 1945. Consequently Professor Mansergh's little book, which is based on the Lady Ardilaun Lectures delivered at Queen Alexandra College, Dublin, in 1944, comes as a surprise, and is therefore welcome as an indication of English interest in a field hitherto largely neglected.

Unfortunately, the book is disappointing. He is of course within his rights in offering "an historical commentary" on "one of the great seminal periods in European history" and "not a history of Europe from 1878 to 1914" and in omitting "many memorable events." But the reader needs to be pretty well grounded in the history of the period if he is to appreciate the commentary. Thus, the provisions of the great alliances which divided Europe into two camps are set forth in very brief sentences which, while accurate, demand close reading, and the same thing may be said of his analyses of the Anglo-French and Anglo-Russian agreements. In his account of the Bosnian crisis, he jumps abruptly from October, 1908, to March, 1909, with little reference to the Austro-Serbian aspect of that controversy and no mention at all of the exchange of letters between Generals Conrad and Moltke, which was far more important than the German humiliation of Russia. The Balkan wars of 1912–1913 are disposed of in five pages. In the chapter on the final crisis, the fateful conferences in Berlin on July 5 and 6, 1914, are referred to only indirectly, and then inadequately. The book would have been much better if it had not left out so much.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For documents, Mr. Mansergh relies on the *British Documents on the Origins of the War* and *Die Grosse Politik*. But, while he mentions in a "selected short bibliography of official documents" *Oesterreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik* and the third series of *Documents diplomatiques français,* he makes no use of them in his text. The first series of the latter publication is quoted in one footnote; the second series is ignored, although it now covers the first Moroccan crisis and the Algeciras Conference. There is also no reference to the Russian series *International Relations in the Age of Imperialism,* in spite of the existence of a German translation. Likewise, of the innumerable biographies and autobiographies of the period, the only Continental ones quoted are Poincaré, Paléologue, Joffre, Bülow, Tirpitz, Nekludov, and Giolitti.

Since there is no bibliography, it is impossible to say how widely Mr. Mansergh has read; but, apart from works by Englishmen, he refers in his footnotes to only two French, two German, one Austrian, one Hungarian, one Italian, and one American work. Very many important French, German, and American writings are ignored, and the text does not suggest that the author is familiar with them. His exposition is, in short, what might have been expected in the late 1920's, when only British and German sources were available. It is to be regretted that Mr. Mansergh, who handles competently the material which he actually uses, did not extend his researches more widely.

One curious feature remains to be mentioned. The American work mentioned by Mr. Mansergh is Fay's *The Origins of the World War,* which is described as "a most stimulating and reliable guide" and is frequently cited. Yet Mr. Mansergh says flatly that "one Great Power, the greatest military power in Europe, considered that in 1914 a favourable moment for war had come and was determined to wage it," and he has a paragraph on "The War That Germany Envisaged."

Alexandria, Virginia BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

ESSAYS IN BRITISH AND IRISH HISTORY IN HONOUR OF JAMES EADIE TODD. Edited by *H. A. Cronne, T. W. Moody,* and *D. B. Quinn.* (London: Frederick Muller. 1949. Pp. xv, 336. 21*s*.)

WHILE the essays published in honor of James Eadie Todd, emeritus professor of history in the Queen's University of Belfast, center as one would expect in the history of Ireland, they cover a wide range both chronologically and geographically. All of them seem sound in scholarship and are highly readable. The medievalist will be grateful for Professor Cronne's discussion of the forest administration in the reign of Henry I and for Miss Megaw's speculation as to the probable reasons for Stephen's attack on the bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Ely. While the question as to whether or not Stephen was "stupid" does not greatly interest this reviewer, Miss Megaw has shed new light on a highly involved episode of English history. Of perhaps more general interest is Professor Betts's essay on Richard Fitzralph and the doctrine of dominion. While I do not feel that Professor Betts makes it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sufficiently clear that Fitzralph was merely using an old argument in a new form, he shows clearly the importance of the idea in the intellectual revolt against the medieval church.

It is impossible within reasonable compass to deal adequately with sixteen essays. Most of them illuminate obscure or neglected corners of history and are chiefly of interest to the specialist who wanders in their neighborhood. The "Farm of the Guinea Company in 1631" by Mr. Blake, "The Recruitment and Organization of the Scottish Army in Ulster, 1642–1649" by Mr. Hazlett, and "The Irish Viceroyalty, 1760–1763" by Mr. McCracken are illustrations of this type. This reviewer was particularly entranced by two such essays—"Father Hugh O'Donnel, First Parish Priest of Belfast, 1772–1812" by the Reverend Patrick Rogers and "Irish Church Finances after the Disestablishment" by Mr. Shearman. The first of these gives a most vivid picture of the Catholic clergy and their Protestant neighbors in Ulster while the penal laws were still in force. The second is the first attempt I have seen to show how the law disestablishing the Irish church actually worked.

Two of the essays belong in a slightly different category. Professor Hughes's discussion of the "Eighteenth Century Estate Agent" seems to me to open up a subject of great importance. I hope that he will carry it much further. The lords and great gentlemen who owned a large part of the land of England were devoting themselves to amusement and politics. Hence their "men of business" must have been an extremely important element in the history of the period. Professor MacInnes' account of the history of the port of Bristol is almost equally fascinating. It is a remarkable study of the effects of circumstances on men and of men on circumstances as well as a well-written story of one of England's oldest ports and its vicissitudes.

Professor Todd may well take pride in this book. Anyone interested in British history can find something in it eminently worth reading.

Johns Hopkins University SIDNEY PAINTER

SALE OF OFFICES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *K. W. Swart.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1949. Pp. 165. Gld. 6.)

THIS small volume embodies a double contribution to scholarship in the early modern field. First, Dr. Swart has provided a broad comparative analysis of *la vénalité des offices,* discussing the phenomenon in France, Spain, England, the Northern and Southern Netherlands, Italy, Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and China during the seventeenth century, which he rightly calls its peak period, at least in Europe. Both the terseness of the exposition and the extent of the supporting documentation are apparent from a comparison of the 127 pages of text with the 29 pages of bibliography, representing research in French, English, Spanish, Dutch, German, Italian, and Latin. (It should perhaps be stated that this multilingual apparatus is handled with sufficient restraint to impress the reader with-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out oppressing him.) As the author reminds us, despite the fact that some historians have mentioned the universality of the sale of offices, it has until now been studied only in national terms. Dr. Swart demonstrates that here, as in the more familiar problems of feudalism and absolute monarchy, the comparative approach offers special insights of its own.

The second respect in which the present work breaks new ground is less explicitly pointed out within its own pages. In order to appreciate this other contribution, it is necessary to bear in mind that the historical instance in which sale of offices reached its greatest extent and had the most far-reaching results was that of France. Having indicated the various factors which in one or another country contributed to the development of the system—an aristocratic principle of bureaucracy, remuneration of officials by fees, relatively high national prosperity, a powerful middle class, and an absolutist government faced with the need for ultimately dangerous fiscal expedients—Dr. Swart goes on to specify France under the *ancien régime* as the only state where all of these elements were present in marked degree. As the author modestly observes, there is little in the case of France which can be added to the voluminous studies which have preceded his own. The fact remains that his analysis is the first to become available in English, those of Mousnier and Göhring having been written in French and German, respectively.

There are very few points on which this reviewer feels inclined to criticize Dr. Swart's execution of the task, as he has delineated it. Certain words are used ambiguously, as for example "venality" itself, generally employed here in its technical sense of "salability" as applied to an office, but occasionally permitted to wander off into more pejorative connotations of "corruption" as applied to the officeholder. Closer editing could have eliminated numerous slips in English syntax and spelling. The reviewer would have welcomed a somewhat fuller analysis of the social effects of venality, some elaboration of Mousnier's suggestive use of the phrase, "a new feudalization," in describing these effects in France. Such comments, however, are of limited scope and are intended to be so. The over-all worth-whileness of Dr. Swart's project and the combination of erudition and balance with which he has presented his findings seem to me to deserve an unequivocal vote of approval.

Bennington College FRANKLIN L. FORD

LETTERS OF LOUVOIS. Edited with Introduction and Notes by *Jacques Hardré*. [University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, No. 10.] (Chapel Hill: the University. 1949. Pp. 518. $6.00.)

HISTORIANS will welcome this little volume of letters both as a valuable addition to our knowledge of Louis' great war minister and as a collection useful in the training of graduate students. Rousset's monumental study has given us a full-length portrait of Louvois; this volume provides a direct contact with his mind and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his policy at a critical period in Louis' reign. Since it is reasonably difficult to consult the 250 volumes of Louvois' correspondence in the National Archives, American scholars are deeply in Professor Hardré's debt for this collection.

The decision to make the French demonstration in the Lowlands (1683–84) the axis of the volume was a happy one. Louis' policy at that period was primarily concerned with the consolidation of the post-Nymwegen annexations. He encouraged Kara Mustapha to invade the Danube basin, and took full advantage of Emperor Leopold's problems at Vienna and in Hungary to secure the truce of Ratesbon (1684). These letters throw little light upon the making of high policy but they provide a remarkable insight into the actual military execution of the king's projects. The cold-blooded precision with which Louvois marshaled his forces, the brutal bombardments of towns and villages, the concern lest the Spaniards attempt a counterstroke against the French frontier, all come to light in these pages. Louvois emerges as a vigorous, painstaking official, obviously endowed with abundant energy and intelligence, and fortified with a minute knowledge of the problem with which he deals. Here was a man who would have been a war minister to satisfy a Napoleon or a Clemenceau as well as the Sun King.

The volume also provides insight into the inner working of Louis XIV's military administrative machinery at the period when the great military powers emerge to give characteristic form to the European political structure of the next two centuries. It is to be hoped that this volume might inspire someone to write a history of the French army of this period on the scale of Jany's first volume on the Prussian army. Such a study is long since past due.

Professor Hardré has informed the reviewer that he will be unable to undertake further publication of Louvois' letters. This is unfortunate, but obviously this type of publication requires considerable subsidy. None the less, Professor Hardré has deposited microfilms of several other volumes of the Louvois correspondence in the library of the University of North Carolina, where they are available for anyone to use.

University of Minnesota JOHN B. WOLF

LE COMTE FERDINAND DE BERTIER (1782–1864) ET L'ÉNIGME DE LA CONGRÉGATION. By *Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny,* Maître de Conférences à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. (Paris: Presses continentales. 1948. Pp. xli, 572.)

THIS is one of the most important monographs on the political history of nineteenth century France to appear in a generation. It is based on an extensive family archive, on the archives of other old royalist families, on material in the Archives Nationales and some departmental archives, and, finally, on all the pertinent printed primary and secondary material. As Pouthas has written, *"la bibliographie est une somme."* The author has done this biography of his ancestor not only with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thoroughness but with the most admirable insight and detachment. The work is a model of historical method and possesses real distinction.

The subject of the biography was the son of the last *intendant* of Paris of the *ancien régime*. In 1789, his father was brutally killed by a mob and his body dragged through the streets. This experience, together with others almost as wretched, fixed in the youth a passionate royalist and Catholic attitude. For a short time, during the First Empire, he joined a Free-Masonic lodge to study Masonic methods, and then founded a secret royalist society, La Chevalerie de la foi. The new society attracted a substantial group of men of talent and prestige, including Mathieu de Montmorency. Besides the biography of Ferdinand de Bertier, the author gives a full account of the royalist secret societies and their relations with Italian secret societies and the papacy during the empire and later.

With branches all over France, the Chevalerie organized, very effectively, the royalist opposition to Napoleon, and they played a leading and hitherto unknown role in stirring up royalist demonstrations that convinced the allied generals and statesmen that the Bourbons should be returned to power. The author shows that without the activity of the Chevaliers de la foi the allied powers in 1814 would not have restored the Bourbons. The activities of the secret society and its members are traced through the whole of the Restoration. The society backed the comte d'Artois, who in 1824 became Charles X, and opposed all the ministries, even those that Charles X approved. They were truly, as their enemies said, "more royal than the king." During most of the Restoration Bertier was in government service either as prefect or as a member of parliament. The society was officially dissolved in 1826. Its old members, however, were only satisfied with the coming to power of the Polignac ministry of 1829, though Bertier and some of the former members disapproved of the "July ordinances." After the downfall of Charles X in the July revolution of 1830, the former members played a leading role in the conspiracies connected with the duchesse de Berri. The author shows clearly that these were more of a danger to the July Monarchy than former historians realized. Following the collapse of these conspiracies, Ferdinand de Bertier occupied himself chiefly with religious work, and, like many other Ultras, withdrew into a kind of self-imposed exile.

The author once and for all proves that the famous Congrégation de la Vierge was a purely religious and charitable organization and that the Liberals of the Restoration, who in the 1820's fulminated against the Congrégation, missed entirely its significance (*cf.* summary, pp. 402–407). The organization that was politically effective in the whole activity of the Ultras was the Chevalerie de la foi. Through all this the author breaks new ground.

Important as was this secret society, it remains doubtful how well it served the royalist cause. The judgment of the leaders was, in the opinion of the reviewer, quite inferior to that of men as different as Louis XVIII, Decazes, Villèle, Talleyrand, Benjamin Constant, and Royer-Collard. It would seem that the one chance of rooting the monarchy in France after 1814 was to follow the dictum of Louis

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

XVIII of "nationalizing the monarchy and royalizing the nation." One may well agree with Gambetta that Louis XVIII was "the ablest French king since Henry IV." Unhappily he came to the throne in poor health and was not destined to live long after the Restoration. Ferdinand de Bertier, a man of great devotion and sterling character, seems to have served his cause "not wisely but too well." Like General de Gaulle, he was very useful in breaking one regime but showed little capacity for organizing the new order he had helped to bring into being. These are, however, matters of judgment.

This work of the abbé de Bertier is indispensable for anyone interested in the Bourbon Restoration in France, indeed for any student of the whole post-Napoleonic world. The work is rich in new material.

Oberlin College FREDERICK B. ARTZ

L'ALLEMAGNE ET LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. By *Jacques Droz,* Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1949. Pp. vii, 500. 1000 fr.)

"THE present volume," Professor Droz writes in the preface, "is neither an exposition of public opinion in its ensemble nor an abstract treatise on political doctrines. I have attempted to show in studying the press, the memoirs, the pamphlets, the theoretical works published between 1789 and 1801 how the revolution aroused the main currents of ideas which have dominated the history of Germany in the nineteenth century. The volume is thus intended to be an introduction to the study of the German political and social thought in the contemporary period." The author has already published, in 1940, a couple of scholarly monographs on Germany and promises to continue the present work with a second volume on German political thought in the Napoleonic era. He has done extensive research in libraries and archives in Germany and claims for this book that "no important witness" has escaped him (p. vi).

Professor Droz raises fundamental issues about the character of modern Germany on which there is bound to be respectful disagreement. His assumption that the Germans manifested political backwardness by not following the example of the French Revolution should not satisfy the observer of so many revolutions in our present century. There have been other ways of developing into modern Western society besides that of emulating the hectic vicissitudes of the French Revolution. The divorce between thought and action certainly typified the mentality of German intellectuals and creative writers, and the author offers the best available explanation for it, namely, the absence of a middle class powerful enough to take the lead, as it did in France, in achieving a national liberal state. But it seems wrong to conclude that out of the repudiation of the French Revolution by many German intellectuals and their emerging belief in the superiority of conditions in Germany over those in France there developed "one of the permanent traits of the German mentality," namely, "metaphysical pride which makes it regard Germany

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as the people destined to educate humanity" (p. 247). The sort of language about the messianic role of their nation used by some Germans at the time is found also among the French a few years earlier and constitutes the basic ideology subsequently of nationalists of all countries. That the nationalistic manifestation of the divorce between ideas and reality came to fullest expression in Germany under Hitler must be explained with due recognition of the significance of the struggles in several different periods between the strong liberal and democratic forces on the one hand and the conservative, authoritarian elements on the other. One should not draw implications about the subsequent political behavior of a people from the study of its political infancy, as the author does. The Freudian emphasis on the importance of infancy does not seem applicable in the case of a people, even though it is fairly standard practice for historians devoted to research on origins to use that approach.

The author has been unable to overcome the typical weakness of German *Ideengeschichte:* he devotes his book mainly to persons of little or no political importance. Like the German scholars, he writes about the political ideals of Goethe and Schiller, of the professional philosophers (Kant, Fichte, *et al.*), of young men not yet important (Wilhelm von Humboldt, Gentz), of those, some of them sensible, some of them crackpot, who by having the energy to write books at the time about the French Revolution offer convenient sources for the history of ideas. To equate the political wisdom of Germany with such an array of individualists seems like interpreting the Middle Ages in terms of the story of Abelard. The author ignores the ideas of princes and of high military and civil officials almost entirely. Although he knows the works of Hansen, Ziekursch, and others, he does almost nothing with the political and social views of the peasantry with respect to the French Revolution. The fact that many Germans not given to writing books were thinking then, as they were subsequently, in reasonable and practical terms about the typical reforms of liberalism which they wanted is not sufficiently brought out. And to equate Romanticism with the defense of reaction seems quite unjust and reveals the failure on the part of the author to relate the character of the ideas with the character of the period.

The present criticism of Professor Droz's book is not intended to belittle the courageous effort of a colleague of another nation but rather to stimulate international discussion of a common problem. The interpretation of modern German history is in such a state of confusion that an honest and thoughtful book like the present one is to be welcomed.

University of Nebraska EUGENE N. ANDERSON

OUR EMINENT FRIEND EDMUND BURKE: SIX ESSAYS. By *Thomas W. Copeland.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 251. $4.00.)

BURKE'S POLITICS: SELECTED WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF EDMUND BURKE ON REFORM, REVOLUTION, AND WAR. Edited by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ross J. S. Hoffman and *Paul Levack*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. xxxvii, 536, x. $4.75.)

EDMUND Burke was not only an active public figure but a profound thinker upon eternally important human problems. One who is concerned with him must master the content and evaluate the significance of his thought in addition to compiling biographical details. *Burke's Politics,* with its introduction, shows how vast and difficult is the first problem, for it requires much historical understanding; Mr. Copeland's meticulous essays demonstrate how perplexing the second can be.

Despite Burke's prominence, and in part because of it, many aspects of his life are obscure. This obscurity is the theme of Copeland's book, which, its author modestly says, may add "only a little to our knowledge" though it gives "a rather full account of the nature of our ignorance" of Burke. The first two essays treat generally of mysteries about Burke. In that entitled "Boswell's Portrait of Burke" the author wonders why Boswell never presented him so sharply as he did other members of the Johnson circle, and advances some engaging suggestions concerning the relations of Boswell and Burke. In "The Little Dogs and All" Copeland delves into Burke's private life and raises more questions, acknowledging his debt to Dixon Wecter's *Edmund Burke and His Kinsmen* (Boulder, 1939) for much of the material on Burke's family and finances. Reasons for Burke's vulnerability to attack from political foes, in turn a cause of some of the defects of our knowledge about his private affairs, are clearly presented. The last four essays solve particular biographical problems. The two on Burke's editorship of the *Annual Register* and his authorship of certain book reviews therein have appeared in slightly altered form in *P.M.L.A.* within the last decade. Based on facts and ingenious and justifiable inferences, these essays enable us at last to speak with assurance about the duration and nature of Burke's connection with the *Annual Register*. In "Burke, Paine and Jefferson" the author exaggerates, I believe, the significance of the relations between Burke and Paine in 1788–1789. He clears up some confusion over Paine's activities and his dealings with Burke in the years mentioned but contributes little to the background of Burke's understanding of the nature of the Revolution. The last essay convincingly identifies "Monsieur Dupont" as three persons—the "young gentleman" of the *Reflections* and its preliminaries; the translator of the *Reflections;* and the recipient of *A Letter to a Member of the National Assembly*. These essays are accurate and well written. They effectively show how much there is yet to find out about Burke, and they add to our knowledge of him more than "only a little."

The editors of *Burke's Politics* felt some trepidation about their task, and their caution was salutary. Their selections, well-chosen and judiciously condensed, are so arranged as to emphasize the persistence of the component elements of Burke's thought. The materials are ordered topically and roughly chronologically, beginning with "Discontents in the Kingdom" which preceded the American Revolution, and ending with a chapter titled after one of Burke's last writings, the mag-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nificently disdainful "A Letter to a Noble Lord." In between come chapters dealing with the American Revolution; Bristol, Ireland, and commercial freedom; the Catholic controversy; domestic reform; India; the French Revolution; the war with "Jacobin France"; and Ireland once again. The selections are confined appropriately within the limits laid down by the title of the book. At first glance Ireland and the Catholic question appear to have received overgenerous treatment, yet these were recurrent and bothersome problems in Burke's time, and matters close to his heart from boyhood. The editors avoided the temptation to present the spectacular personal aspects of Hastings and India, limiting their selections to illustrations of the larger matters, the positions of the East India Company and Britain in Indian affairs. The best section, I believe, is the one concerning the war of the French Revolution. It brings out Burke's understanding of the nature of the war and the European state system. The introduction to the volume is a masterful summary of Burke's thought, but the editors are less fortunate when they stray into the dangerous realm of historical analogy in a perfervid effort to emphasize the contemporaneity of Burke's writings. The analogies seem to me somewhat overdrawn, and perhaps unnecessary. Anyone who is going to read this book will probably be intelligent enough to make comparisons for himself. Each chapter, and each section within, is preceded by a discussion of the personal and historical setting. These discussions are adequate, though a few trivial errors occur in them and in the footnotes.

These two books show what is needed for the authoritative work on Burke. Mr. Copeland pleads for continued specialized study, of which his own book is a good example, as necessary to any definitive general work on Burke. He thinks that the recent accessibility of more Burke materials will stimulate further research and that scholars, using these and other little worked sources, will be able to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge. Copeland bases his essays upon carefully culled printed materials available in the United States, as well as some manuscript sources in the Pierpont Morgan Library and the Library of Congress. Yet he writes that he consulted the Wentworth Woodhouse papers now in the Sheffield Public Library only after he completed his essays, and he did not have "to alter substantially" any of his conclusions. This seems to suggest that we must not raise our hopes too high over the prospect of clearing up all the Burke mysteries. Nevertheless, continued biographical research will furnish details for buttressing what we already know about Burke and doubtless result, as the work of Copeland and Wecter must, in some revisions in the presentation of his life. Satisfying and essential as this might be, something more must be done. The selections edited by Messrs. Hoffman and Levack point up the necessity for understanding Burke in the philosophical and historical sense, for only that kind of understanding will produce really significant interpretation.

University of Kentucky CARL B. CONE

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA. By *Hector Bolitho.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. 437. $5.00.)

With the Jerrold, Lee, and Strachey books about Victoria now middle-aged; with the Benson, Ponsonby, and Sitwell treatments all in their teens, it was to be expected that a book of this sort would come off the press. Mr. Bolitho, having numerous predecessors, and having himself traversed a good deal of the ground in previous writings, started with a very useful handicap. Perhaps it was because his predecessors had used up so many titles that he chose to call his latest work "The Reign of Queen Victoria." For the first part of the book at least, some such title as "Queen Victoria and Her Family" would have been more appropriate. This part, covering the queen's life up to her widowhood, is so biographical that most matters of administration and of policy are either omitted or so scantily dealt with that their inclusion hardly seems worth while. Moreover, it is to the prince consort that Mr. Bolitho gives the center of the stage, the queen being represented as utterly subservient to him in her very thoughts. That she ever was so is at least debatable. In the second, and as it seems to this reviewer, the better part of the book, Victoria the queen stands out beside Victoria the woman.

All through, Mr. Bolitho writes most engagingly, embellishing his narrative with anecdotes and quotations in a manner which seems characteristically Victorian. His industry in amassing material is matched by his skill in weaving it into a narrative which has a certain sustained dramatic interest. Almost needless to say, this narrative is a very familiar one; but even those well acquainted with the field will light upon certain facts and quotations which they may have overlooked, or which are derived from sources they have had no particular occasion to consult. Mr. Bolitho tells us that he has used a good deal of manuscript material, both at Windsor and in Germany; and several of his references are to the Windsor archives. Unfortunately, his citations are so scanty and so casual that verification is usually impossible. His practice of citing letters only by their dates is particularly regrettable in view of the number of sources from which they may have been derived.

While his historical background is noticeably thin in some respects (*e.g.,* as to the actual, not the incidental, reasons for the fall of successive ministries); and while there are naturally a few inaccuracies, Mr. Bolitho is perhaps most open to criticism for his failure to show the part played by the queen in such international crises as those connected with the independence and unification of Italy, and in such constitutional issues as those involved in the passage of the Reform Bill of 1867. But "general readers" may not notice such omissions, while people acquainted with the period will be able to supply what is missing for themselves. Both classes of readers may be grateful for a narrative which never fails to entertain and which brings out many aspects of the queen's life and activities almost as vividly as "visual aids" could do.

Middletown, Connecticut Herbert C. F. Bell

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

L'ANTICHITA SVELATA E L'IDEA DI PROGRESSO IN N. A. BOULANGER (1722–1759). By *Franco Venturi.* (Bari: Laterza. 1947.)

THE reasons which have prompted Venturi to choose as his main characters not the rationalist theoreticians of progress, from Diderot to Condorcet, but Boulanger and those philosophers of religious history whose names (Delisle de Sales, Court de Gebelin, Dupuis) he rescues from dust, are the result of his eagerness to elucidate the crisis of the Enlightenment. This crisis follows Boulanger's death (1759); within it, Boulanger's thought is the constantly operative leaven. "Over against the little group of those who drew the radical atheistic consequences implicit in the thought of Diderot, Lamettrie, d'Holbach, and the Encyclopaedists, may be set those writers who advocated a return to deism. Rousseau and Voltaire are the two most typical representatives of this trend" (p. 95). The study of this field, "in which much remains to be explored and understood," not only enables us to translate into real history the too simple antithesis, Enlightenment versus Romanticism (Venturi shows, apropos of Rabaut de Saint-Etienne, that "it was rationalistic criticism itself which paved the way for the Romantic discovery of primitive history"), but substantiates the assumption of the generally European character of those researches in historical philosophy which are traditionally considered peculiar to Herder and credited exclusively to him. Furthermore (and that, this reviewer may point out, is a much more important and original angle) a study of the post-Boulanger tendencies in religious historiography clarifies, by throwing it into relief against its proper background, the whole history of the religiosity and the rituals of the French Revolution (pp. 93–94)—*i.e.*, that study illumines the vicissitudes of Girondinism and of the *cultes civils* of the revolutionary period. A chapter on Boulanger and Vico (pp. 124–40) again places on the docket the discussion of the problem of the alleged dependence of the former upon the latter. This problem is not only pertinent to Vico's *Nachleben* but has bearings on the explanation of an idiosyncratic aspect of Italian intellectual history during the second half of the eighteenth century, that is, the heterogeneous admixture of platonic idealism with deterministic naturalism. This admixture characterizes, for instance, one of the earliest and most significant Vichians, Mario Pagano (1748–1799), author of the *Saggi politici* (1783–1785), philosopher of history, legal reformer, hero of the Parthenopean revolution of 1799.

In view of the curtain of darkness which shrouds the history of Vico's influence in France during the eighteenth century, unusual interest attaches to the disclosures contained in Venturi's chapter on Louis Clair Le Beau du Bignon (1738–?). Du Bignon is a heretofore totally unknown figure whom Venturi, exploiting a dossier of the Bastille preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale resurrects from oblivion.

The Abbé Du Bignon, who visited Italy in 1765, was a student, in Rome, of Emanuele Duni (1714–1781), at that time professor of Roman law at La Sapienza. When Du Bignon sat at Duni's feet, the latter had already published his *Origine*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

e progressi della cittadinanza e del governo civile di Roma (2 vols., Rome, 1763–64). This book, which is shot through with Vico's ideas, is, according to Filippo Serafini, extremely important both for the history of the constitution and government of ancient Rome and for the history of Roman private law. Returning to France, Du Bignon published his *Histoire critique du gouvernement romain* (1765), later republished under the title *Considérations sur l'origine et les révolutions du gouvernement des Romains* (1778), which, Venturi states, is a recast of Duni's *Origine e progressi*. Venturi's discovery of Du Bignon points to a thus far unsuspected channel of Vico's influence in France. The work of Duni, insufficiently appreciated in Italy, was given a flattering reception beyond the Alps. It was translated into German and must have been known to De Chastellux (who, in the opinion of Cuoco, was among those who, in the eighteenth century, understood Vico best). De Chastellux couples Duni's name with that of Du Bignon. For the benefit of future scholars who may wish to pursue this line of investigation, it may be added that Emanuele Duni's brother, Saverio Duni, the (now utterly forgotten) author of the *Giureprudenza universale di tutte le nazioni* (1793), was also an ardent Vichian. His work too may have been known in France and may have carried there pollens from the *Scienza Nuova*. The reader can see the new research perspectives opened by Venturi's provocative volume.

Washington, D. C. ELIO GIANTURCO

IL TRAMONTO DELLO STATO PONTIFICIO: IL PAPATO DI GREGORIO XVI. By *Domenico Demarco*. [Biblioteca di cultura storica, 31.] (Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1949. Pp. 304. L. 900.)

THIS study of the decline of the Papal State during the pontificate of Gregory XVI (1831–1846) is part of a trilogy on the Roman Revolution of 1848–49. The present volume is concerned with the prerevolutionary background and, although complete in itself, may be regarded as introductory to the author's *Pio IX e la Rivoluzione romana del 1848: Saggio di storia economico-sociale* (Modena, 1947), and *Una rivoluzione sociale: La Repubblica romana del 1849* (Naples, 1944) (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, LIV, 678, 130).

In the last-named work, Demarco came to the conclusion that the republic would have fallen even without French intervention. This he attempts to explain in the present volume by showing that "as in all the European revolutions of 1848, this political physiognomy was only the external aspect" of what was "at bottom a social revolution" (p. 12). "The patriotic, national and unitary character of the movement was only the accessory and contingent trait," which was imposed by an idealist minority but which "had no appeal for the majority of those who fought for a thousand different motives—whence the misunderstandings which undermined the new republic, the disillusions of its government, the weak resistance offered to the reaction which soon overtook it, and the fatal epilogue of catastrophe" (*ibid.*).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

More than half the book (pp. 17–173) is given to an analysis of "the social classes in the Roman state." The first chapter, devoted to the "ruling and lower classes" (pp. 17–103), describes the state as a "clerical appanage" (p. 26) and notes the decadence of a lay aristocracy (pp. 29 ff.) which had no interest in improving its landed property and had abandoned public careers to the clergy. Meanwhile, the "demolition of small property" (p. 55) was reducing independent proprietors—an element of social equilibrium—to a poverty-stricken state which fostered discontent. The ratio between classes did not remain constant with the growth of population which marked the period; the relative increase in the size of the agricultural laboring class was a "striking phenomenon" (p. 55). The *Agro Romano* (Roman *Campagna*) is dealt with separately (pp. 62 ff.), in order to explain its pastoral *latifundia*. Succeeding chapters consider the rising bourgeoisie, the oppression of the Jews, and social life in the larger cities.

It is not until the fifth and final chapter that the political history ("Writings, Political Programs, and Revolts") is presented, but, despite the promises of the preface, it appears to owe little to the "social" chapters which precede it and which make the book a valuable study.

The text is followed by an index and an impressive though uncritical bibliography.

University of California, Berkeley GORDON GRIFFITHS

RUDOLPH: THE TRAGEDY OF MAYERLING. By Count *Carl Lonyay*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1949. Pp. xviii, 244. $5.00.)

THIS is the first full and trustworthy report of the tragedy of Mayerling which ended the lives of Crown Prince Rudolph and his seventeen-year-old mistress, Baroness Vetsera, on January 29, 1889. During more than half a century the story of their death has remained a mystery, surrounded by an enormous and highly controversial literature.

The present book by Count Charles Lonyay has all the attributes of serious history. After a distinguished military and diplomatic career Count Lonyay turned to historical studies and, as the nephew of Count Elemer Lonyay, who married the widow of the crown prince, Archduchess Stephanie, was well acquainted with the Viennese court. Following the deaths of his uncle and his uncle's wife, many hitherto secret documents, letters, and reports fell into the hands of the author, as executor of his uncle's estate. In addition to the family sources of information, he gained access to the official court archives containing many previously unpublished documents.

On the basis of all this information the author shows that there was no mystery in the Mayerling catastrophe and even very little romance, for Rudolph, with his melancholic and pathological temperament, had in the past been haunted by the idea of suicide and had tried to find partners to it, both male and female. Also the Baroness Vetsera was not a novice in amorous experiences; and the real love of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crown prince, after many unfortunate adventures, had been concentrated upon a modest girl of the small bourgeoisie.

This dismal story of a one-sided suicide (Rudolph shot the girl and only several hours later himself) remains rather the personal tragedy of a sick and dissolute man. However, the author offers something more important than a true and final report on the last days of the crown prince. He gives a thoroughgoing analysis of his life history and shows conclusively that Mayerling was not a simple accident or a chapter in morbid psychology, but can be truly regarded as a tragedy to which the prince had been foredoomed. As his former tutor, General Latour, said: "The unhappy Prince was killed by the atmosphere in which he was forced to live, and in which he did not have the power to live. He was the last and perhaps the only prince, who, at the end of the nineteenth century . . . seeing further than the frontiers of Austria-Hungary, strove to grasp the political and social problems of the world as a whole . . . recognized the real malady of that political era which culminated in the World War."

This seems also to be the opinion of the author (though a distorted quotation mark on page 117 makes it not quite clear), a man of strong liberal, humanitarian, and anti-Habsburg tendencies. This attitude of his also explains his very severe evaluation of the chief actors of the drama which sometimes appears as exaggerated and unjust. The emperor, a petrified bureaucrat and a prisoner of the Spanish court etiquette, is portrayed almost as an ogre, which he surely was not. And the unhappy prince was not essentially a *detraqué,* but had strong human sympathies and a feeling of justice, as the author himself shows on many pages. What destroyed him was not his innate character but the complete boredom of the court atmosphere, the air of intrigue, the leading role of mediocre individuals, the uncompromising, pedantic, and narrow personality of his father and the petty, loveless, and snobbish soul of his wife.

Count Lonyay is rightly indignant when he narrates the suppression or destruction of evidence and how all those who had been closely connected with the events of the tragedy were sworn to secrecy and certain persons, considered as especially dangerous, were placed under police supervision. But when he states that the "methods used by the Imperial police were similar to those now used in totalitarian countries" he falls into an exaggeration which distorts the historical perspective. The tyrant of the Hofburg was unable to exile to Venice the Baroness Vetsera, the mother of the murdered girl, and to induce the coachman Bratfish, a confidant of the crown prince in his love adventures, to leave his beloved Vienna. But when their interests and prestige are hurt, totalitarian dictators do not hestitate to eliminate by bloody purges all those whom they feel are dangerous.

Nevertheless, both on account of its array of facts and its scrupulous documentation, the volume by Lonyay will remain indispensable for all those who study the twilight period of the Habsburg Empire.

Oberlin College OSCAR JÁSZI

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STALIN: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *Isaac Deutscher*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 600. $5.00.)

IT has been said, and within certain limits correctly, that Lenin's writings can provide a handy quotation to suit almost any occasion, taste, or point of view. One is reminded of this in reading Deutscher's brilliantly written biography of Lenin's successor, which can supply plentiful forensic ammunition to friends and critics alike of the present Soviet dictator and his regime. The author, however, is not a mere eclectic or a detached academician, but shows himself unmistakably a man of the October Revolution and an undogmatic Leninist in his approach to the subject of Stalin as a politician and statesman.

Always lucid and interesting and often provocative, the book is nevertheless rather uneven from a scholarly point of view. The early Stalin seems to be somewhat inflated, and Bertram D. Wolfe's *Three Who Made a Revolution* (1948) is a safer source for the pre-1917 career of the future dictator, especially since Wolfe dwells in detail on the "hagiographic re-writing" of Stalin's biography by Beriya and others.

The description of the rise of Stalin to power in the 1920's and his struggle with Trotsky and other adversaries is by far the most illuminating and valuable contribution of the book, in which, no doubt, the author's firsthand experience in Communist politics stood him in good stead. The great merit of his treatment is that he holds the scales remarkably even between the various protagonists. The discussion, however, of the great economic transformation of Russia during the 1930's is less satisfactory or novel and often too fatalistic. There was more of a choice of policies open to Stalin than Mr. Deutscher's treatment implies; but this is a large subject. The handling of the puzzling Kirov assassination affair which opened the era of purges is disappointing and the trenchant questions adumbrated in the provocative *Letter of an Old Bolshevik* are neglected.

The author permits a number of inaccuracies to creep into his picture of Russian history. For instance, the statement that "all the four Dumas [parliaments] elected between the two revolutions were arbitrarily dissolved by the Tsar" (p. 95), is not true with respect to the Third Duma. It is also incorrect to label "most of the Narodniks," the Russian agrarian socialists, as "revolutionary Slavophiles" (p. 28). It is true that they had in common with the Slavophiles the attachment to the Russian land commune, the mir. But, whereas Slavophiles prized the mir as a repository of the traditional past, the Narodniks valued its purported future socialist potentialities. Apart from their anticapitalist bias, the Narodniks, unlike the Slavophiles, were not, for the most part, "opposed to the spread of European influence in their country," as the author maintains.

In the sketchy treatment of the Constituent Assembly of 1918, to take still another instance, it is strange that the author does not even mention the fact that the delay in its convocation was one of the principal charges of the Bolsheviks, including Stalin, against the Kerensky regime. And it is certainly misleading to say, "The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Assembly, elected on the basis of a law that had been worked out under Kerensky, probably did not reflect the swing in the mood of the country that took place on the eve of the October revolution" (p. 186). However, the election, as is well known, took place after the October coup and went heavily against the Bolsheviks.

It is perplexing to know what the author means when he couples the Soviet abolition of capital punishment after World War II (incidentally, it was largely restored early in 1950) with "the quasi-Liberal modification of the criminal code, the emphasis on habeas corpus and on the rule of law, and a number of other post-war reforms" (p. 561). The criminal code, if anything, was made stiffer in the post-war U.S.S.R. and habeas corpus continues to be an unfamiliar Latin term amidst Soviet realities.

In his historic interpretations, generally, the author emphasizes, as so many modern writers on Russia do, certain ancient historic tendencies, such as those of isolationism and antiwesternism and political oppression. But the more modern trends, characteristic especially of the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as those towards increased freedom of the individual, the closer contact with the West, the growing industrialization of the country, and the widespread educational and cultural advances, are glossed over. Certainly, if the picture of the political, economic, and cultural progress achieved in Russia, despite strong tsarist resistance during the sixty years preceding the Revolution can be dimmed, then the justification of Stalinism is greatly facilitated. The author, for example, asserts, "The nation over which Stalin took power might, apart from small groups of educated people and advanced workers, rightly be called a nation of savages," and also, "There have been many positive, valuable elements in the educational influence of Stalinism, elements that are in the long run likely to turn against its worst features. . . . For of Stalinist Russia it is even truer than of any other revolutionary nation that 'twenty years have done the work of twenty generations'" (pp. 568–69).

It is indeed a strange "nation of savages" that had a trial by jury and an independent legal bar; that had a "quasi parliament" in which the liberal and socialist opposition was represented, including the Bolsheviks; a nation that produced an unrivaled literature; that had a number of great scientists, including two winners of the early Nobel Prize; that spanned a continent with railroads from the Baltic to the Pacific and from the Arctic to the Black Sea; a nation that overthrew an ancient autocracy—and all this before Stalin or even Lenin became dictators of Russia.

Washington, D. C. LAZAR VOLIN

SUOMEN HISTORIAN KÄSIKIRJA [Handbook of Finnish History]. Edited by *Arvi Korhonen*. Two volumes. (Helsinki: Söderström. 1949. Pp. 742, 703. 1600 M.)

THE last few years are likely to be remembered in Finland as a great age of scientific and scholarly literature. The record is truly impressive. In the field of his-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tory, 1948–49 witnessed the publication of such outstanding studies as Uno Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko* (ancient beliefs of the Finns); E. K. Osmonsalo, *Suomen valloitus 1808* (conquest of Finland); J. Teljo, *Suomen valtioelämän murros 1905–1908* (changes in the political life of Finland); J. Paasivirta, *Suomen itsenäisyyskysymys 1917* (the question of Finnish independence); V. Tanner, *Kuinka se oikein tapahtui?* (How did it really happen?) and *Tarton rauha* (the peace treaty of Tartu); Y. A. Järvinen, *Suomalainen ja venäläinen taktiikka talvisodassa* (Finnish and Russian tactics in the Winter War); E. Kuussaari and V. Niitemaa, *Suomen sota 1941–1945* (the Finnish War); and E. Jutikkala, *Suomen historian kartasto* (atlas of Finnish history).

As a fitting climax there now comes a two-volume *Suomen historian käsikirja,* prepared by sixteen specialists who, in the words of editor Arvi Korhonen, include "well-known scholars of the old school, doctors of the middle generation, and several whose doctoral dissertations have not yet been completed." Eleven chapters in Volume I carry the story of Finland from its prehistoric beginnings to its transfer from Sweden to Russia in 1809. Volume II, with eight chapters, covers the period from the establishment of the grand duchy to the unhappy end of the Russo-Finnish War.

Suomen historian käsikirja, like the earlier general works of Yrjö Koskinen, M. G. Schybergson, and K. O. Lindeqvist, is primarily a political history following a strict chronological order. The absence of any significant amount of social and cultural materials is justified by the availability of an excellent four-volume *Suomen kulttuurihistoria,* published in the 1930's.

The handbook reflects the progress made by Finnish historiography during the past half-century. Extensive amounts of new data have been unearthed by Finnish historians, who for the most part have taken a specialist's view of their function. Bibliographies coming at the end of each chapter sparkle with relatively recent titles. Qualitative as well as quantitative advances are observable. Chronology is now fixed more sharply. New interpretations have modified or replaced older conceptions. For example, Christianity is shown to have been present in Finland prior to Bishop Henry's celebrated crusade of 1155; the contacts of Finland with the rest of Europe are demonstrated to have been more ancient and more numerous than has been assumed; nineteenth century views concerning the ethnography of the Finns and their geographical origins have been drastically modified. Of course, darkness still obscures many areas of Finnish history, and lively controversies among Clio's followers still abound.

On the other hand, the style of Finnish historical writing has not changed. This volume, like its predecessors, is a rather colorless, passive recording of complex political maneuvers and perennial military engagements. Revealing interpretations, finely turned phrases, vivid quotations, are rare. It is to be regretted, too, that the *käsikirja,* while having forty-five excellent maps, does not have any of those fine illustrations which made Lindeqvist's history an unforgettable experience.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Yet as straightforward, richly detailed, and reliable history, this joint product of many hands represents a real achievement. It will stand for a long time as a monument to Finnish historical scholarship as well as to the inspiring efforts of the Finnish people to win and to preserve political independence and a democratic way of life.

Heidelberg College JOHN ILMARI KOLEHMAINEN

Far Eastern History

FERMENT IN THE FAR EAST: AN HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION. By *Mary A. Nourse*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1949. Pp. 336. $3.75.)

GOOD popular surveys of the problems of the Far East are urgently needed before we can hope to formulate and implement an adequate Far Eastern policy by the American democratic process. Unfortunately Mrs. Nourse's new book fails in its effort to provide the general reader with any real understanding of the area. Its weakness does not lie in its occasional errors of fact, nor in the absence of new contributions to research or original interpretation, since the book is not intended for scholars or specialists. But its usefulness is seriously limited by its failure to point up the issues of greatest significance and to present in readable form the results of recent research and the chief interpretations which are emerging from the work of leading scholars in the field.

In the chapters on the foundations of Chinese civilization there is no consideration of the structure of traditional Chinese society or of its close relation to Chinese thought. Rather, "The features which mark it [Far Eastern civilization] off from others are ideographic writing, ancestor worship and filial piety, the examination system and the scholar official" (p. 56). The role of the gentry is not even mentioned, nor is the vexed, but important, concept of the "Oriental bureaucratic state." The general reader in search of real enlightenment would do far better to turn to the earlier chapters of John K. Fairbank's *United States and China*.

The chapters on traditional Japanese civilization are hardly more penetrating. The basic thesis is: "Upon the Chinese tree trunk Japan grafted her own branches: a feudal government structure, the cult of the sword and the warrior and epic literature, a more aristocratic society than China's, an aristocracy of courtiers and feudal warriors" (p. 72). No evidence is adduced to support this reversal of the views of Sir George Sansom and other leading students of Japanese civilization who hold that native Japanese institutions have constituted a hard core modified by but perennially resistant to Chinese and, later, to Western influence.

The story of the relationship between China and the non-Chinese nomadic peoples to the north and west takes no account of the work of Lattimore and Wittfogel. Hence the pattern of that relationship, with all its implications for contem-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

porary Chinese-Russian relations, is missing. The chapters on Southeast Asia have the merit of presenting a great deal of factual information not easily available elsewhere in brief compass. But they would have benefited greatly by some attention to the stimulating comparative studies of J. S. Furnivall and other specialists in the Southeast Asia field.

The chapters on China's response to the modern Western challenge suffer from a lack of guiding ideas. In the place of these there is an outline of diplomatic developments which have been as well summarized in several standard textbooks. The few casual references to Chinese Communism are misleading. Modern Japan is treated even more superficially.

The reader thus reaches the concluding chapters on the postwar period with little notion of the relation of this vast and rich background to the tremendous problems of our time. The account of specific postwar developments in the Far East, and of American policy toward the area, is casual and uneven.

Stanford University MARY C. WRIGHT

JAPAN SINCE PERRY. By *Chitoshi Yanaga,* Associate Professor of Political Science, Yale University. [McGraw-Hill Series in History.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1949. Pp. x, 723. $6.00.)

PROFESSOR Yanaga describes his book as an attempt "to present the events, personalities and policies which contributed to Japan's emergence from a feudal nation," an achievement which resulted from "unremitting and undeviating efforts by her leaders who followed a carefully worked-out blueprint." He has skillfully combined the topical with the chronological approach to the century of history which began with Japan drawn into the international community against her will, observed her rise and fall as a world power, and ended with her people under the tutelage of militant democracy. The book appears opportunely as Japan, reduced to a smaller area than she claimed in 1853, begins to draft a new blueprint. It should prove valuable to the Japanese as well as to others for its illuminating panoramic survey of past successes and failures.

The author does not offer a general reinterpretation of Japanese history nor a justification of Japan's foreign policy, though he characterizes specific policies and acts forthrightly. He writes simply and frankly, leaving conclusions to the reader. There is no treatment of the war crimes trials under the occupation, and no apparent use of the huge documentation of the trials, probably because the manuscript was in the publisher's hands before these materials became available. Whether or not Professor Yanaga subscribes to the major charge that Tojo, Kido, and their associates engaged in a conspiracy against peace and humanity is not, therefore, evident in his book. He writes at one point: "Japan was gradually working herself toward the attainment of hegemony in East Asia" (p. 369), but he also writes: "dual diplomacy . . . gave rise to inconsistencies, contradictions. . . . The right

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hand did not always know what the left hand was doing" (p. 446). His extensive bibliography of Japanese titles, which is helpfully provided with English translations and is an important contribution to scholarship, suggests that the trial evidence would not modify his account appreciably.

Clarity and conciseness of a high order enable Professor Yanaga to interweave political, economic, social, cultural, and international developments smoothly and interestingly. He introduces new personalities and new data, particularly in the hitherto neglected areas of literature, philosophy, and the arts. Political scientists will value his succinct treatment of the evolution of parties and parliamentary politics but will be surprised at his omission of German institutional influence upon the first constitution. Foreign policy, international relations, and wars receive due attention; indeed the work inevitably reveals the extraordinary effort which an ambitious nation put forth in her foreign relations at a time when her slight resources were so burdened with domestic reconstruction. It is pleasing to find a chapter on the mass awakening that followed World War I, with credit given to pre-occupational liberalism. One regrets, however, the omission of such grass-roots elements in politics as the neighborhood associations and the patron-follower gangs which have escaped historical treatment by Western writers. It is fair to note that Professor Yanaga is attempting to resurvey not the whole culture of Japan but Japan's efforts to modify her culture. His introductory reference to a "blueprint"—apparently he is alluding to the Charter Oath of 1859, which is so brief and general as hardly to deserve the title—might well have led him to point out specific relationships between the blueprint and subsequent lines of action.

While reviewers will differ with the author on certain of the many controversial issues which challenge the student of this subject, and while specialists will ask for additional footnotes, this book will be received as an important aid to teaching, a contributor to knowledge, and an honest guide for the growing number of laymen who are extending their horizons to Asia.

University of Minnesota HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH CHINA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PERIOD 1944–1949. [Department of State Publication 3573, Far Eastern Series 30.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. xli, 1054. $3.00.)

THIS official White Paper on American relations with China consists of a historical narrative of 409 pages (upwards of 185,000 words) and a documentary appendix of 642 pages (some 300,000 words). The stated purpose of publication was to provide the Congress and the people of the United States with "a record which would reveal the salient facts which determined our policy toward China" from the beginning of World War II "and which reflect the execution of that policy." While it is unlikely that many congressmen or ordinary citizens will read this

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bulky volume in its entirety, historians and other serious students of modern China and of American-Chinese relations will find it a mine of interesting and useful information. Both the historical narrative and the documentary appendix are divided into chapters, with the following headings: (1) "A Century of American Policy, 1844–1943," (2) "A Review of Kuomintang–Chinese Communist Relations, 1921–1944," (3) "The Ambassadorship of Major General Patrick J. Hurley, 1944–1945," (4) "The Yalta Agreement and the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1945," (5) "The Mission of General George C. Marshall, 1945–1947," (6) "The Ambassadorship of John Leighton Stuart, 1947–1949," (7) "The Military Picture, 1945–1949," and (8) "The Program of American Economic Aid, 1947–1949."

The documents making up the appendix as well as those scattered through the historical narrative are of many kinds. The largest number consists of reports made to the President or Secretary of State by our embassy and consulates in China and by various special representatives sent to China from time to time. Probably the most widely publicized of these because of the heated controversy over its publication is the report submitted to the President in the summer of 1947 by Lieutenant General Wedemeyer. There are also numerous statements issued by the Central Government of China (most of them speeches by Chiang Kai-shek) and by the Chinese Communists, policy statements made by American officials including the President, diplomatic notes from and to our government, and treaties and other intergovernmental agreements.

In his letter of transmittal Secretary of State Dean Acheson modestly states that this is not a full historical record and suggests that much pertinent material still remains buried in the archives of the armed services, the Treasury Department, the Lend-Lease Administration, the White House, and other official agencies. And he might have added that there is also a great deal of unofficial material and material in the archives of other governments that in time may be expected to throw additional light on this complex and highly controversial period. However there appears to be no reason to question the secretary's affirmation that "no available item has been omitted because it contains statements critical of our policy or might be the basis of future criticism."

One of the most serious aspects of our relations with China in recent years has been the lack of co-ordination of the various American governmental agencies operating there. It would probably be asking too much to expect the Department of State to describe the occasions on which the Army or Navy, or even the President, acted at cross-purposes to agree upon policies, or to discuss the confusion that resulted when American agencies operated independently of any over-all policy. But the omission of such material is a serious deficiency in an official record of this kind. The absence of an index is a handicap to the scholar who wishes to use the White Paper for reference purposes. There is a moderately detailed table of contents of the narrative section that is of some assistance in locating specific material, but the table of documents included in the appendix seldom gives any indication of their

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subject matter; and some of the many documents and excerpts from documents incorporated in the historical narrative are lost except to the person who patiently reads it all the way through.

Even with its shortcomings the White Paper on United States relations with China makes an important contribution to our knowledge of a little understood period of recent history. It is not often that the historian secures access to so large and significant a collection of materials so soon after the events. Persons who are already fairly familiar with the subject will find the historical narrative and a great many of the documents fascinating reading.

Cornell University KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF

CHINA, THE FAR EAST, AND THE FUTURE. By *George W. Keeton*. [Library of World Affairs, Number 6.] (2d ed.; London: Stevens and Sons. 1949. Pp. xi, 511. 21*s*.)

THIS new edition of the 1943 work of a distinguished British barrister and principal of the London Institute of World Affairs is both timely and valuable, particularly for American students of Pacific Affairs. After an account of the impact of the West upon China and Japan in the nineteenth century, Dr. Keeton develops the theme of Japan's bid for mastery of the Pacific, throwing a glaring and objective light upon the phenomenal, if temporary, success of Japan. His emphasis, however, is upon the consequences of the Asiatic crusade of Japan, particularly upon the rise of nationalistic movements in Korea, the Philippines, Indochina, Indonesia, and the British possessions, accelerated by the collapse of Japan's Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. The strength and significance of these movements are only gradually being appreciated. The most striking part of the book is the last section, which deals with the present and future of the western Pacific. Here the author bluntly states the decline of British prestige and influence in the Far East and the concomitant rise to power and responsibility of the United States. The corollary of this equation is the new juxtaposition and potential conflict of American and Soviet Russian policies in the western Pacific and eastern Asia. This objective British appraisal of the new role of the United States in the Far East is important reading for Americans.

The unique value of this book on the Far East is its statement of the British point of view. The materials of the British Foreign Office and the editorials of the London *Times* have been carefully used and are faithfully reflected. This very merit of the book as an expression of another view of a world problem is also its greatest defect. If this were an American work, we should be inclined to call it provincial. Dr. Keeton's treatment of the nineteenth century preserves intact the point of view of Sir Harry Parkes and Rudyard Kipling. His devotion to the Public Record Office and his failure to utilize any American sources leads him into frequent, though minor, errors of fact. For instance, in a rather cavalier treat-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment of Commodore Perry's opening of Japan, he states that Perry's "bombardment of the forts in Tokyo Bay convinced the Japanese officials that the time for prevarication had passed" (p. 411). He refers to "Senator" Hay's rather incidental connection with the Open Door policy (p. 159). He gives the date of Cushing's Treaty of Wanghia as 1843 instead of 1844. Lack of familiarity with Chinese materials leads to similar errors; for example, his statement regarding the appearance of Kiying (Ch'i-ying) at the negotiations in Tientsin in 1858 (pp. 3, 7), his oversimplification of the Canton "City" question (pp. 20–21), and numerous misspellings of Chinese personal and place names. Typographical errors and evidences of careless editing are far more numerous than are usual in responsible publications.

At the end of the volume there is a useful inclusion of several pertinent documents: the American note to Japan just prior to Pearl Harbor, the new (1946) Japanese constitution, General MacArthur's order establishing the Japanese war guilt trials, and the new (1947) constitution of Nationalist China.

University of Colorado EARL SWISHER

American History

CHARACTERISTICALLY AMERICAN. By *Ralph Barton Perry,* Professor of Philosophy, Emeritus, Harvard University. Five lectures delivered on the William W. Cook Foundation at the University of Michigan, November–December 1948. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. ix, 162, v. $3.00.)

EVER since Crevecoeur first posed the question "What then is the American?" Europeans and Americans alike have been trying to find a definition to fit this "new man." No word has seemed more elusive. In recent years the public search has not been rewarding. Some men of proved loyalty and integrity have been branded as "Un-American" while at least one proponent of "100 per cent Americanism" is now in jail. Ralph Barton Perry, in these lectures delivered last year at the University of Michigan, rejects any facile description of the American. He says, rather, that "all one can possibly claim is that there is among the people of this half-continent taken as a whole, a characteristic blend of characteristics." But the most important element of this blend is the individualism of the American. This is not, however, the "rugged individualism" of Mr. Hoover nor the solitude of the recluse. It is, instead, "a collective individualism—not the isolation of one human being, but the intercourse and cooperation of many." The propensity of Americans to join all kinds of groups and organizations is thus reconciled with their persistent individualism. Individuality is maintained by the voluntary act of joining; but the larger effectiveness of group action is made possible by the association of many for like purposes.

Professor Perry is not only interested in finding a description that fits the American but in analyzing his thinking as well. One suggestive lecture traces the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

development of American thought from its beginnings down to the present day. Few people are better equipped for this task of interpretation. As the historian of both puritanism and pragmatism Professor Perry is completely at home in laying down the outlines of American intellectual history. In another lecture he writes of the religious heritage of America. In the light of the present controversy over church and state there are many wise observations on the place of Catholicism in a democratic society. The book concludes, as any discussion of American character must, with a discussion of political democracy. After sketching the essentials of our free society, Professor Perry demonstrates that he, too, is "characteristically American" by declaring, "Democracy suits America eminently well."

University of Rochester RICHARD C. WADE

THE GENTLEMAN IN AMERICA: A LITERARY STUDY IN AMERICAN CULTURE. By *Edwin Harrison Cady,* Associate Professor of English, Syracuse University. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 1949. Pp. 232. $3.00.)

DR. Cady faced a hard dilemma in selecting the title for this volume. At first reading the title calls to mind the eighteenth century aristocracy and the continuation of that tradition in Brahmin Boston and in the planter culture of the Old South. One expects a study of transformation and decline. The opening chapter, however, makes clear that the author is interested in ideas rather than in social classes. The book deals primarily with the ideal of the gentleman and hence is a study of values. The title misleads because of the poor estate of the word "gentleman" in the language of mid-twentieth century America. It has lost much of its eighteenth and nineteenth century importance. But the word coerced the author, for Dr. Cady had made it the focus of an important investigation. He had to put it into his title and risk the danger of an initial misunderstanding.

The word "gentleman" has a long history in English and American literatures. It has several variant meanings: the "fine gentleman" of Chesterfield, the "Christian gentleman" of the Puritans and the "natural gentleman" of the Enlightenment. Dr. Cady contends that the investigation of American writers in terms of these concepts must lead to a deeper understanding of the purposes and meanings of important literary figures. The concept of gentleman, then, becomes a tool for literary criticism. The author uses his instrument to measure in particular the work of John Adams, Jefferson, Cooper, the senior Holmes, Emerson, and Howells. The book concludes with a most unsatisfactory chapter on the moderns that sweeps over an uneven surface so rapidly as to leave the reader more confused than convinced. But in those chapters in which he deals in detail with the works of an author he succeeds in setting his chosen writers in a new and useful perspective.

Dr. Cady's thesis is that the concept of the "fine gentleman," the gentleman of the "best society" has always been an object of attack in American writing. The breakfast table Autocrat is the chief exception. The concept of the "Christian gen-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tleman" provided the theme for the writings of the older New England Puritanism. It appeared in Cooper's later writings as he turned more to religious orthodoxy. It provided the formula which enabled the socialist Howells to side-step the class struggle of Marx and to save both his social position and his idealism by plumping for Christian socialism. Dr. Cady maintains that the Enlightenment concept of the "natural gentleman," finding somewhat paradoxically its greatest formulation in Emerson, contains the essence of American traditional values. It is, in fact, humanism. The word "humanism" like "gentleman" has also, however, varied connotations, including the "New Humanism" of Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More. For this reason it lacks precision. Dr. Cady has preferred the word "gentleman" for the sound reason that it was so important in the discourse and the writing of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. He has made an important contribution in clarifying this concept as an instrument for literary criticism.

Dr. Cady frankly takes his stands as a protagonist of the ideal of the natural gentleman, particularly as interpreted by Emerson. His book ends with an only thinly veiled exhortation on the theme of the importance of the ideal for contemporary society. A scholar who strives to give social significance to his scholarship must be commended, but in this case the author's zeal betrays him, in the opinion of the present reviewer, into a failure to bring his study to a satisfactory conclusion. In the middle of the twentieth century the word "gentleman" has an antique flavor suggesting a physical setting embellished by Sheraton chairs and portraits by Peale. Dr. Cady would have increased vastly the usefulness of his book if he had examined the career of this word in our dynamic and revolutionary century and had discussed the emergence of new conventions in our language for the expression of the old ideas and ideals with which he deals.

Yale University RALPH H. GABRIEL

THE DEVIL IN MASSACHUSETTS: A MODERN INQUIRY INTO THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS. By *Marion L. Starkey*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. xviii, 310, vii. $3.50.)

FIFTY years ago a "modern" inquiry into the Salem witch trials would almost inevitably have been a condescending account of the delusions which terrified the hapless Puritans of 1692. The advances of the past fifty years in the technique of convicting innocent persons make it altogether fitting that a truly modern inquiry should speak with more humility. The Salem trials, with their apparatus of secret torture, phony confessions, exposures of alleged accomplices, irregular procedures, and admission of inadmissible evidence have such a modern ring that the reader inescapably thinks of the trials which have recently taken place, and are taking place today, in parts of Europe. The public hysteria which accompanied the Salem trials suggests with equal force the recurrent red scares in this country.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Miss Starkey does not dwell on this parallel, because she writes much too skillfully to need to dwell on it. Instead she makes the reader aware of it in a thousand subtle ways, for example by occasionally adopting the point of view of one who is frightened by the apparent demonstration of the devil's power in Salem. As she states the fears of such a person they become quite as real and plausible as those aroused by Communist infiltration today. The whole story is told with a restraint which never lapses into denunciation and with a sense of drama which never descends to melodrama.

As Miss Starkey recounts the Salem episode, the things which give it a larger significance are the courage with which some of the witches refused to confess and the courage with which some of their judges later repented. Miss Starkey again lets these gestures speak for themselves without excessive elaboration, but they stand clearly as the moral of the book. The courage of a Giles Cory needs no elaboration: Cory allowed himself to be pressed to death for refusing to plead in court, as a protest against the unfairness of the trials which his judges were conducting. This sort of courage can probably be matched today, though today it would not be made public. The other sort of courage was something for which it would be hard to find a modern parallel. The jury and at least one of the judges who condemned the witches made public confession in 1697 that they had sinned, and the whole colony of Massachusetts held a day of fast to repent what they had done. They had not acted out of malice; they had not ceased to believe in the reality of witchcraft; they had simply become convinced that the trials had been unfair. One wonders how long it will be before Massachusetts, still believing and perhaps with reason in the danger from unseen forces, makes public confession that a trial held in 1921 was unfair.

Some historians may find fault with this book because the author indulges in the reconstruction of a few minor incidents for which there can be no basis in the records: Judge Samuel Sewall thinking out his confession of error, the robin bobbing on the lawn by Rebecca Nurse's house. This sort of thing can be misleading where the author is not thoroughly versed in the sources; it can also be extremely offensive if the author lacks taste. But Miss Starkey is probably as thoroughly versed in the sources of the Salem episode as anyone has ever been, and her taste is nearly always impeccable. By the use of such devices she has not only made her book more readable but has been able to give it a perfection of form that might not otherwise have been possible. Any historian who neglects the book because these devices offend him will neglect the most understanding account of the Salem witch trials that has been written.

Brown University EDMUND S. MORGAN

PLAIN FOLK OF THE OLD SOUTH. By *Frank Lawrence Owsley*. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 235. $3.50.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THIS study of the plain people in the Old South is an illustration of the process by which contemporary interests and trends influence the reinterpretation of history. The concern of the New Deal in the common man has contributed to a restudy of the role of the plain folk in American history. Likewise, the romanticization of southern aristocrats in such novels as *Gone With the Wind* has had the delayed effect of a reaction. Symptomatic of the times, therefore, is Professor Owsley's thesis in this volume: "perhaps the most important assumption" of the untested assumptions of American historians is the "non-existence of a large rural middle class in the Old South" (p. ix). He proceeds to demonstrate convincingly the existence of this class—which few reputable historians today would dispute. The valuable contribution of Professor Owsley and his students to the revision of southern history is their pioneering work in the use of the unpublished census returns and tax lists in studying land ownership in the Old South. By a sampling technique (which has been questioned but which seems adequate to me) he provides statistical evidence to indicate that at least 80 per cent of southern farmers in 1860 owned their lands and that in the decade 1850–1860 there was an increase in landownership and prosperity of all classes of southern society. To the question whether slavery drove the small farmers from the good land to less fertile regions he answers a resounding No and maintains that the farms of planters and yeomen were intermingled so that "the values of their lands and their agricultural productions per acre were about the same" (p. 76). Somewhat in contradiction to this questionable generalization is his interesting observation that the small farmers tended to avoid the rich alluvial regions which were unhealthy and which were later occupied by slave plantations.

The golden age of southern history, this study strongly implies, was the antebellum period, and the southern idyl was not the life of the planter but that of the yeoman. Professor Owsley writes with nostalgia and a delightful freshness concerning southern folkways—the devout religion, the wholesome amusements, the abundance of delicious country food, the singing school, etc. Absent from this charming picture are the low standard of living of the slaveless farmer, his monotonous diet of hog, hominy, and execrable coffee, which the travelers reported, his religious fundamentalism, his mental isolation, and the grave social evils of slavery. In regard to the literacy of the plain people of the South, Professor Owsley takes a much more favorable view than the unreliable census reports and the observations of contemporary observers indicate. In demolishing old stereotypes of the aristocrats, historians should be cautious in swinging to the other extreme of idealizing the life of the plain people. *Plain Folk of the Old South,* written with verve, makes some major contributions to southern history.

University of Kentucky CLEMENT EATON

THE PEOPLE SHALL JUDGE: READINGS IN THE FORMATION OF AMERICAN POLICY. In two volumes. Selected and Edited by the Staff, So-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cial Sciences I, the College of the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 797; xiv, 931. $4.50 each.)

In recent years there has been increasing evidence that many of those responsible for social science at the college level have not been entirely happy with older arrangements in terms of materials or methods of instruction. Careful inventory has convinced them that much lost motion and wastage result from overdepartmentalization, overlapping of courses, repetition, particularly in history, of subject matter, and overdependence upon textbooks and lectures. As a consequence, a number of institutions following the lead of Columbia College have pioneered in developing new courses and new methods. The two fat volumes here reviewed are the products of this pioneering effort.

The College of the University of Chicago holds that its primary objective is the promotion of intelligent citizenship in a democracy. Accordingly, its Social Science I staff has three chief aims: (1) to enable the student to acquire basic historical knowledge about American ideas and institutions; (2) to help him develop competence in the analysis of social issues; and (3) to encourage him to acquire a sense of responsibility about public issues and to examine his own standards in an atmosphere of free inquiry and discussion. These aims, the staff believes, can best be realized not by use of textbooks of the usual kind or by lectures but rather by means of readings which cover the more important phases of our historical record. These readings, two hundred and eleven in number, drawn from a wide variety of sources—from systematic philosophies, from opinions crystallized in law and judicial decision, from speeches or pamphlets struck off in the heat of controversy, from political and diplomatic correspondence, from sermons, lectures, and newspapers—range from the speculative to the practical, from the nature of man and society to specific issues of social and economic and political policy in domestic and foreign affairs. Many of them, but not all, have appeared previously in such compilations as Henry Steele Commager's *Documents of American History* and Louis M. Hacker's *The Shaping of the American Tradition.*

The readings have been organized in a series of units each corresponding with a situation in which the American people were confronted with a critical problem involving opinion and policy: wherever feasible the material within each unit represents a pattern of controversy; one-sidedness is avoided. Each unit is preceded by a brief introduction indicating the scope of the material and its significance. Care has been exercised not to prejudge the issues involved; that is the student's job.

The eight units in Volume I cover the period from the beginning of the seventeenth century through the Civil War and Reconstruction. Unit one deals with the problem of freedom and authority in the seventeenth century both in England and in colonial America; unit two with the American Revolution in terms of the revolutionary debate, and democracy and aristocracy in the new republic; unit three with the Confederation and Constitution; unit four with economic problems of the new republic in which Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian systems are stressed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unit five is devoted to constitutional problems of the new republic and unit six to the beginnings of American foreign policy. The last two units with their several subdivisions deal respectively with "Equality in Jacksonian Democracy" and the "Crisis in the Federal Union." One wonders why in unit eight little or no emphasis is given to economic considerations as a cause of crisis ultimately resulting in civil war. While George Fitzhugh's *Sociology for the South or the Failure of Free Society* discusses types of economic society, his emphasis is clearly a defense of Negro slavery.

Volume II contains units nine to thirteen and a statistical appendix. With the exception of unit nine—"Social Criticism in the Industrial Age, 1865–1914"—the units in this volume are subdivided into several sections. Thus unit twelve—"Freedom in the Industrial Society"—has seven sections: "Criteria for a Free Society," "What Is the Proper Role of Government?" "Government Policy for Business," "Government Policy for Labor," "Government Policy for Agriculture," "An Economic Bill of Rights," and "Civil Liberties and Loyalty since 1919."

The statistical appendix contains a list of thirty-eight charts and tables covering various aspects of American civilization, past and present. Without exception each of these charts and tables illumines the historical record.

While it is obvious that these readings could be used to supplement lectures and texts in traditional courses in history and government, they were not selected with this in mind. Rather they constitute the material assigned for study and classroom discussion. In the opinion of the reviewer, this is a marked step forward in the education of college youth. A liberal education is more than a congeries of courses built around a textbook and the lecture method. In the hands of a competent teaching personnel, the materials in these volumes should help students not only to gain broad perspective and understanding of America's past and present, but ability to think and act more wisely as citizens than they otherwise would.

Columbia University HARRY J. CARMAN

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE: A HISTORY OF ITS ORGANIZATION, PROCEDURE, AND PERSONNEL. By *Graham H. Stuart.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. x, 517. $7.50.)

HERE is a history of the Department of State, of the men who presided over it, and of the men and women who worked within it. It is a record of personalities and persons, of organizations and reorganizations, of salaries and overtime hours, of divisions and bureaus, and of all the multifarious activities and personnel, outsiders as well as insiders, that have marked the growth—in recent times the very rapid growth—of that institution, from the small office which Robert R Livingston had in the little two-story wooden structure at 13 South Sixth Street, Philadelphia, housing two secretaries, a clerk, and a translator, for the secretary of foreign affairs of the Continental Congress in 1781, to the enormous administrative organi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

zation in Washington employing over 5,192 people with an approved and appropriated budget of $24,510,600 for the year 1950, exclusive of foreign service abroad.

This painstaking study is an unraveled and enriching roster of public service in the conduct of foreign affairs as managed from Washington. Chief emphasis, as signalized by chapter headings, is on the successive Secretaries of State and how they measured up to their duties and responsibilities, with some attempt to evaluate their comparative merits. Among the greatest Secretaries of State the author puts John Quincy Adams, Webster, Seward, Hay, Root, Hughes, Stimson, and Hull—"a great Secretary of State, a great statesman, but, above all, a great man." Any reviewer is tempted to throw in his five cents worth of appraisal: this one would assert that the statures of Webster and Hay as diplomatists diminish as they recede into the historical background. Look at what Webster did to the northeast boundary, what he would have done to Oregon if he had got the chance! John Hay, except for the Open Door, was only Theodore Roosevelt on paper. And look at the Open Door today!

In this useful and informing volume there is a maximum of administrative mention and a minimum of foreign policy. Many a deserving officer, however humble, receives his meed of notice in Mr. Stuart's careful narrative. Nevertheless there are some individuals whom at least one reader would like to have seen mentioned: the late Joseph V. Fuller, scholarly editor of volumes of *Foreign Relations* dealing with the First World War, who brought a high standard of historical editing to that official record of our diplomacy; the late Herbert F. Wright, editor (among other assignments) for international conferences, 1930; and Graham H. Stuart himself, a distinguished historical consultant in 1943–1945.

The author manages to touch, in clever fashion, albeit sometimes unevenly (nothing, for example, on the diplomacy of the American Revolution, and five pages on the Palestine question), on the principal problems of foreign affairs as he goes along. The work would be even more useful if it had given us some summary, and perhaps appraisal, of the guiding principles of American foreign policy which the successive Secretaries of State developed and invoked throughout the history of the Department of State.

After Mr. Stuart's encyclopedic researches and scholarly exposition it is not likely that anybody will have to write another history of the Department of State, certainly not in our times.

Yale University SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By *Samuel Flagg Bemis.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. xix, 588, xv. $7.50.)

THE publication of this book about a famous American diplomatist by a dis-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tinguished historian of American diplomacy is an event of the first magnitude, not merely for specialists in diplomatic history but for all students of the history of the United States. What Professor Bemis says on page 300 about the significance of Adams' policy of continental expansion for specialists in other fields of history, such as the frontier, immigration, and urbanization, could have been said with equal justice about the whole of Adams' diplomatic career, and the point could have been stated in even broader and stronger terms. Politics may stop at the water's edge, but the life of the nation has never stopped there. It is not the least of this book's many merits that it serves as a reminder of this elementary but too often forgotten fact.

For all its broad implications, Professor Bemis has focused his book sharply upon the first of John Quincy Adams' two "great careers," that is, upon his diplomatic career from 1795 to 1829. This falls into three stages of increasing rank and responsibility: first, as diplomatic envoy successively to the Hague, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Ghent, and London, with interludes as United States senator and professor of rhetoric at Harvard; then as a brilliantly successful Secretary of State; and finally as an almost completely frustrated President. There the book stops, except for comparatively brief accounts of the subsequent solution of some of the unsettled problems of this period, such as the Maine and Oregon boundary disputes. Domestic questions, even during Adams' presidency, receive scant attention, and the whole of his second "great career," as "crusader against the expansion of slavery," is left for treatment in another book.

The period covered by the present work is one of the most familiar in the whole history of American diplomacy. The mass of books and articles that have been written about almost every aspect of it includes works by such master craftsmen as Henry Adams and Dexter Perkins, and not a few of them are based upon good use of the mountains of relevant source materials scattered all the way from Washington to Moscow and Buenos Aires. Yet by intensive cultivation Professor Bemis has obtained a rich harvest from this much-worked field. He has given us the first account of the period written from the point of view of the only diplomat of first rank who was active throughout the whole of it. He has also combined an unrivaled mastery of the literature of the subject with an extraordinarily comprehensive knowledge of the unpublished sources.

Chief among the new sources that he tapped were the John Quincy Adams papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he tells us he was permitted to make an "intensive study." That he was permitted to do so is headline news in historical circles, for no such privilege has been granted any other historian since W. C. Ford, to whose memory this book is dedicated. Ford revealed little about the contents of these papers beyond publishing Adams' *Writings,* a selection which stops with the summer of 1823. Since Professor Bemis' statement (pp. x, xi) leaves some doubt about the degree of freedom with which he himself was permitted to use them, it will be of interest to historians to know that, in response to my inquiry on this point, he has authorized me to say that, while he did not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have unrestricted use of the Adams papers, he nevertheless feels that with the assistance of Mr. Henry Adams 2d he got extensively and thoroughly behind the written record on all the major policy questions. No spectacular finds resulted from their use, but they did enable Professor Bemis to enrich and deepen the story of Adams' life, both public and private, and to set at rest much speculation about their contents.

Except for an occasional detail here and there and an overemphasis on Adams' originality, the account of his diplomatic career is sound and convincing. If, as I think, Bemis has given Adams too much of the credit for the Monroe Doctrine, he has otherwise done Monroe better justice than have most previous writers. With regard to Adams' diplomatic career as a whole, he stresses not only his well-known continentalism but also his less familiar isolationism. We are told that he was in fact "the greatest isolationist of them all," and his almost fierce devotion to this policy is brought out all the more clearly by a good description of his one and only departure from it and of the curious reversal of his attitude toward Latin America after 1821 which this involved.

There is also a wealth of detail about Adams' private life. The features of it that stand out most clearly are his devotion to his family, his books, and the theater. He may have been narrow, but he was many-sided. For example, though neither a great writer nor an original thinker, he rendered an important service to American thought and letters by helping to break down the prevailing prejudice against the German language and literature.

To everything he undertook, he brought such considerable talents that he would still have been an important person if he had never held important office. Since he held high office for thirty years, and then the highest, and was one of the greatest of all American diplomats, the story of his life in this period is one of surpassing interest to students of American history. Professor Bemis has given us a book worthy of its subject.

University of Pennsylvania ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

EDMUND PENDLETON GAINES, FRONTIER GENERAL. By *James W. Silver*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 291. $4.50.)

THOSE who think of the American frontier in terms of a constantly receding west can learn from this life of General Gaines that south and north have also had their tensely watched borders in the growth of our nation. For on the Niagara as well as the St. Marys, the Sabine, and the Sewanee, General Gaines once stood with American platoons, watching and sometimes fighting his country's foes. In this delightful and ably documented biography, Dr. Silver has set forth the long public career of this eccentric but able military leader who was a sort of genius-on-guard for the early Republic. During the course of his life General Gaines surveyed the Natchez Trace, arrested Aaron Burr, fought the British, out-talked Black

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hawk, hunted down Osceola, antagonized Andrew Jackson and Winfield Scott (among others), campaigned for preparedness, built numberless block-houses, crusaded for railroads, and married a woman, the famous Myra Clark (Gaines), whose own career as a life-long litigant out-stories the story books. It is to the credit of Dr. Silver that after painstaking years of research he has described this remarkable life in true perspective. A recognition is somewhat overdue General Gaines.

Edmund Pendleton Gaines himself was a product of the frontier. Born in Virginia of a distinguished family whose descendants today occupy positions of prominence, he at first tried to practice law in Tennessee, the state of his adoption. But the situation on the "border" drew him into military service and he made the army his career. During the second war with England, he distinguished himself by beating off a night attack against Fort Erie, a post the Americans were holding on that lake. As victories in the War of 1812 were, on the American side, exceeding scarce, Gaines became a national hero. From that time on, he was ranked as one of the nation's military leaders and commanded important posts and departments for the rest of his life. The Black Hawk War, the Florida troubles (both with the Spanish and the Indians) the Texas war of independence, the war with Mexico—each in turn enlisted his attention.

A pure individualist, General Gaines could never be fitted into the pattern of official conformity so as to be pleasing to what in his day was the forerunner of the war college or general staff. This got him into endless troubles, and one or two courts-martial. Dealing with certain orders from Mr. Marcy, Secretary of War, General Gaines once cavalierly declared: "I carelessly submit to them [the secretary's orders] as they seem to be a source of pleasure to the War Department and certainly inflict no injury on me." No wonder he was in trouble with Marcy, John C. Calhoun, and "Mr. Polk."

General Gaines married three times, his third wife being Myra Clark Whitney. This lady's enormous litigation against the city of New Orleans, in the attempt to prove that her birth was legitimate and that she owned about one fourth the city, became a *cause célèbre*. General Gaines wholeheartedly supported his wife in what then appeared to be a hopeless fight and sacrificed much of his fortune to help the indomitable Myra. As it turned out, she did win—but forty years after the general himself had been laid to rest.

Dr. Silver has spared no effort in careful research to make available the interesting events which set forth the general's career. He is to be congratulated upon having done a work of historic value and in throwing light upon many little-known events in our nation's history. The Louisiana State University Press has kept up its reputation by providing another volume in which both content and design are fittingly united to form another of its "Southern Biography Series."

New York City NOLAN B. HARMON

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FARTHEST FRONTIER: THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST. By *Sidney Warren.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 375. $4.50.)

THIS book is offered to us as a social history of the Pacific Northwest during its frontier period, which in the author's view extended from the days of the explorers to about 1910. The early chapters dealing with exploration, the fur trade, the missionaries, and the Indians take the reader hurriedly over familiar ground and add little that is new. The author makes his chief contribution in bringing together scattered detail bearing upon the period of settlement following 1846. He presents the subject in a series of broadly topical chapters devoted to "The Social Fabric," "Builders and Boosters," "Vice and Virtue," "The Lamp of Learning," to early journalism and medicine, history and literature, to art and entertainment.

These latter chapters represent diligent research in the libraries and historical societies of the Northwest as well as elsewhere. They embrace a wide variety of authentic incident and description and introduce a number of colorful personalities. While the arrangement of material is somewhat haphazard, there are many sidelights on frontier life that will not be found in more formal historical accounts.

The book suffers, however, from serious shortcomings. Professor Warren loves a good story and finds genuine enjoyment in the picturesque and bizarre features of frontier civilization. He includes such details in great profusion and feels no necessity to distinguish between those that have some importance for his canvas and those that are wholly trivial. At many points his research is fragmentary and his parade of particulars leaves the reader wishing for a greater attention to problems of interpretation and synthesis.

The author speaks of the development of "an indigenous cultural tradition," yet none appears. He refers to the transition from a frontier stage of development to one that was essentially national, yet we are told but little of how this important change took place. He shows a general awareness of the fact that society in the region was composed of many elements—isolated farms, mining communities, mill towns, and trading centers on the Columbia and Puget Sound, even a frontier metropolis in Portland, Oregon—yet the outlines of this pattern are indistinct and the characterization and appraisal of it are quite inadequate.

Farthest Frontier can be read with entertainment and profit, but it does not meet the need for a more penetrating interpretation of the Pacific Northwest to the rest of the country—and to itself.

University of Washington CHARLES M. GATES

SILAS WRIGHT. By *John Arthur Garraty,* Assistant Professor of American History, Michigan State College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 552.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 426. $5.00.)

SILAS Wright was a prominent figure in the Albany regency. This extremely

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

able group of Democratic politicians, some liberal and some conservative in their social views, ruled the Democratic party in New York state from the 1820's down to the party's breakup into factions some two decades later. During that time, Wright held a number of important offices. Indeed, from 1824 to 1847 he was continuously in office, being successively state senator, congressman, state comptroller, United States senator, and finally governor of New York state from 1844 to 1846. At the time of his death (August 27, 1847) he was being prominently mentioned for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1848.

As became a Democratic agrarian of the middle period, Wright's political views had a decidedly liberal tinge. He was critical of banks and banking practices, helped to destroy the Second Bank of the United States and to establish the Independent Treasury system, swung from being a protectionist into the tariff for revenue position, advocated hard money (opposing even small bills), and urged making every stockholder in a business or in a bank responsible for the entire indebtedness of the concern. Wright was a Jacksonian Democrat with strong manifestations in his makeup of a Jeffersonian heritage—this last never being better illustrated than by his assertion in his last public statement that "the history of all civil government [proves]—that a well-educated, industrious and independent yeomanry are the safest repository of freedom and free institutions."

Honest, disinterested and modest, calm and impersonal in his approach to public problems, a simple but forceful speaker, Silas Wright was one of the more attractive public men of his period. There were occasions when his judgment erred. There were times when his politician's instinct dictated a subordination of principle to the exigencies of the moment. But there were few bold enough to question either the purity of his motives or his zeal for the public good.

Mr. Garraty's account of Wright's life, while clear and well balanced, is by no means free from defects. There are points at which the author's critical judgment has not been given full play, as in his treatment of Wright's attitude toward small bills, and his analysis of the Democratic "stop and tax" position of the early 1840's. The book's interest is diminished by the author's penchant for laboriously worked out detail, and his frequent use of lengthy paragraphs. There is only a modicum of interpretation and generalization.

But if Mr. Garraty's book has its faults, it also has its virtues. The style is simple and straightforward. The exposition of political situations, particularly of the confused and complex New York state politics of the 1820's, is clear and reasonable. Anecdotes and stories are used repeatedly and with good effect. The author has not written a book that will have much interest for the general reader, but he has nevertheless done a necessary job in a very creditable fashion. With care and judgment and painstaking assiduity, he has portrayed the role played by one of the important Democratic politicians of the middle period, and in so doing has made a genuine contribution to historical knowledge. The genuine enthusiasm for his-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

torical research that shines out of the pages of this book deserves both encouragement and praise.

University of Rochester GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN

LINCOLN FINDS A GENERAL: A MILITARY STUDY OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *Kenneth P. Williams.* Volumes I and II. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xviii, 443; ix, 445–902. $12.50.)

IN two handy volumes Kenneth Williams, professor of mathematics at Indiana University, traces Civil War campaigns to the autumn of 1863, focusing on the eastern front and giving a "preview" emphasis on Grant, though that general is to be treated in later volumes. Having attained the rank of colonel, with a fine background of army service, Professor Williams shows special competence as to technical military matters—*e.g.,* "strength returns" and logistics. His treatment flows along with clear style, impressive detail, vigorous exposition, and well-ordered chapters. Controversies, sharp contradictions of other authors, and special problems are relegated to appendix pages. Maps and illustrations enliven the book; chapter titles are vivid; continuity is well sustained. The basic pattern, suggested in the title, is Lincoln's painful search for a general and his disappointment with unsuccessful commanders—McDowell, McClellan, Pope, Burnside, Hooker, Meade—while all the time Grant was "maturing in the West," to be ready when his day should arrive. Grant's predecessors are played down, rather mildly except as to McClellan; against that general the author exhausts his ammunition. The argument is not only that McClellan "failed" before Richmond. He is represented as a "complete collapse" (I, 248) and as guilty of "pure hypocrisy" (I, 340) even when showing apparently commendable conduct.

Many people seem to have the idea that major Union defeats occurred under McClellan's command, which was simply not true. Careful students still ponder whether the Peninsular score was altogether unfavorable to McClellan, or whether it was a final score. The army was ordered back by the Washington authorities; the difficult offensive was terminated in mid-progress. Perhaps it was as if a ball game had been stopped, let us say, in the middle of the fifth inning. In the face of differing contentions there is need for historical caution. Instead of concluding that withdrawing McClellan's army was the "only . . . thing" to do (I, 256), one cannot help noting in Second Bull Run the sequel of that withdrawal, to say nothing of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. Douglas Freeman is not sure that Lee had altogether the advantage on the Peninsula. He notes how Lee labored under "the fog of war," how his moves "were not completed," and how he "failed to realize his full expectation" (*Lee,* II, 171, 231, 241). One need not deny that McClellan's intelligence system was wretched, that he was, as Lincoln said, "over-cautious," and that he had other defects. Deficiencies in some of the generals, however, are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

excused or almost praised (Pope's "errors were in the right direction," I, 357), while McClellan's faults are overdrawn and the serious lack of support from Washington is understated or explained away.

Along with other matters, Antietam is set down as McClellan's "failure" (I, 105, and chap. xiv). Lincoln did not consider it so. He referred to South Mountain and Antietam as "battles bravely, skilfully, and successfully fought." Ready to issue his emancipation proclamation, he had been waiting for a victory, but while he waited there came Pope's smashing defeat at Second Bull Run, then Lee's alarming invasion. McClellan's repulse of Lee at Antietam gave not only the occasion for the proclamation; it produced also a notable improvement in the international situation. Foreign recognition of the Confederacy was never so near fulfillment after Antietam as before; such recognition, by Professor Williams' own statement, was "a keystone of all Confederate hopes" (II, 613).

The author's favorable appraisal of Stanton's war department and of McClellan's opponents is not shared by certain competent writers. The worst federal defeats came under Stanton; the central control of the army under him was far from satisfactory; if, moreover, one is interested in Lincoln's purposes it must be remembered that the radicals, with whom Stanton worked, were severely antagonistic to the President. As to the method involved here, one may take the strange episode of General E. A. Hitchcock in March, 1862. According to the Hitchcock account (his diary edited by W. A. Croffut, and manuscripts in the Library of Congress) the aged, weak, retired veteran was summoned to Washington and asked to take McClellan's place in command of the Army of the Potomac, an impossible assignment which he declined. The Williams version gives no adequate idea of this amazing incident; it is stated briefly that Lincoln and Stanton directed the armies "with assistance" from Hitchcock (I, 158). Hitchcock's "assistance" was so unimportant that he actually felt guilty in accepting government pay, but the record he kept is significant as showing the inadequacy of Stanton and his department. The general doubted whether Stanton himself knew what he wanted (Croffut, p. 439). Croffut is not cited, nor included in Professor Williams' bibliography, which also omits Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*.

There are occasional errors—*e.g.*, it is stated that James Shields "almost challenged" Lincoln to a duel (I, 204); he did challenge him, of course. There is, perhaps, too much reliance upon the *Official Records*. There were significant things that did not get into the *O. R.* The famous letter of Lincoln to Hooker, January 26, 1863, is badly botched (II, 551–52). The text, taken from the *O. R.*, is very faulty, though Lincoln's manuscript is easily available in reproduction. Besides being grammatical, the letter had better phrasing as Lincoln wrote it. In the appendixes, where there is formidable criticism of other writers, the artillery is active, but, in the reviewer's opinion, the lines are overextended.

Despite such matters, reluctantly mentioned, *Lincoln Finds a General* will win wide recognition as a significant contribution to military history. In our time it has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been remarked that points of dispute "will be debated as long as Guadalcanal is remembered." It is so with the Civil War.

University of Illinois J. G. RANDALL

A DIARY FROM DIXIE. By *Mary Boykin Chesnut.* Edited by *Ben Ames Williams.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1949. Pp. xii, 572. $5.00.)

"THESE Virginians, with their proud names! Miss Page Walker married Captain Lee Page the other day. Now she is Mrs. Page Page. Someone said she had turned over a new leaf, but still she was the same Page" (p. 398). This item contains little of historical significance, but it illustrates the humor which punctuates the pages of Mary Boykin Chesnut's *A Diary from Dixie,* one of the best accounts emanating from the South when Robert E. Lee was "the first gentleman of Virginia," "Piecake" Davis the "Daughter of the Confederacy," bond cutters "Revenue Clippers," and women the unsuppressed purveyors of "chatter, patter, chatter" despite "death and destruction."

Mrs. Chesnut frequently wrote a thousand or fifteen hundred words as a daily entry. She occasionally indulged in reminiscence that recalled the days of her youth, and she drew upon her memory to fill a hiatus from early August, 1862, to late October, 1863. Her penchant for puns and gift for gossip provided levity for her congenial narrative, but the diary's significance lies in its faithful portrayal of a society at war. One seldom loses sight of conflict on the battlefield, the rise and fall of military heroes, or tragedies in hospitals and prison camps, all of which serve as a backdrop for human nature mirrored by an intelligent woman. The journal is a record of hopes and fears, of love and hate, of unselfish devotion and altruistic sacrifice.

The diarist understood and appreciated life among the lowly, but her chronicle views society through the lenses of the well-born. The Chesnuts were wealthy South Carolina planters whose economic and social status brought the diarist's husband a seat in the United States Senate on the eve of secession and membership in the Montgomery convention on the morning of the Confederacy. Mrs. Chesnut was convinced that slavery did not cause secession. "We separated from the North," she recorded, "because of incompatibility of temper." Certainly southern women could have no love for slavery, for they lived surrounded by prostitutes; southern gentlemen shared their houses with wives and concubines alike. A dozen times she sermonized on the subject of slavery with its "hideous black harem. . . . Mrs. Stowe did not hit the sorest spot. She makes Legree a bachelor."

The diary was first printed in 1905, edited by Isabella D. Martin and Myrta Lockett Avary. The reprinting restores many of the passages they deleted, though Mr. Williams compressed the manuscript from some 400,000 words to three fourths that number. He omitted many letters, quotations, and poems, "blue-pencilled incidents lacking either human or historical interest," and transposed or inserted

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

words and phrases. Some of these liberties will disturb the meticulous historian, already dissatisfied with inexact reproduction in the earlier edition. Mr. Williams has not taken his editorial obligations seriously. He footnotes the obvious and ignores the intricate. More than three hundred persons are listed in the index by their surnames only. Historians will continue to quote the diary; they will also continue to hope for an accurate and definitive edition.

Tulane University WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

GIANT IN GRAY: A BIOGRAPHY OF WADE HAMPTON OF SOUTH CAROLINA. By *Manly Wade Wellman.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1949. Pp. xv, 387. $5.00.)

HAVING lived an eventful, colorful, three-phase life "before, during and after the war," the third Wade Hampton rates a good biography. In many ways Mr. Wellman's qualifies as such. In other respects, however, it seems to this reviewer that he shoots wide of the mark. The difficulty may have been the double bill he essays: first, to detail generation by generation the fauna of the Hampton family; and then to paint the full-scale portrait of the striking personality who played the title role. Your reviewer found it hard to avoid the impression that the family tree had been overgilded.

This may have been unavoidable, given the circumstances back of the book. It was obviously written for the satisfaction of the many-branched Hampton family, as well as for the general edification of the biographically inclined. The author, himself a Hampton scion, has been newspaperman, free-lance fictionist, Ellery Queen mystery-story contestant, and novelist. He doubtless struggled to avoid the faults of filiopietistic imperatives, but without too much success. But whatever its overemphases, he obviously worked like a Trojan amassing the details of the Hampton family saga since 1624, when the first of the tribe crossed the Atlantic.

Kinsmen and friends pitched in to help Mr. Wellman trace details of generation after generation until the third Wade Hampton took command of the family tree. The hero, "even in the dark," and at the Confederacy's fall, "was like an idealized statue of a mounted warrior"; six feet tall, he had a "chest like a barrel, a corded neck, a proud, massive head." Physically as well as militarily, he was "first soldier of the Carolinas." His valor in combat matched his sagacity in strategy and maneuver; in these particulars the picture isn't overpainted, though the author hasn't followed Oliver Cromwell's injunction to the artist to be sure to paint the warts too; perhaps there were no such blemishes on Hampton.

The general wanted to lead an expedition to Texas to carry on the resistance to the Yankees despite Lee's surrender. Mr. Wellman says Hampton "could have done it, if anybody could," but Mrs. Hampton's entreaties and Joe Wheeler's sober counsel prevailed. His pre-secession millions, his baronial estates were gone with the wind. He returned to his ruins, accepted the verdict of war, and put in the rest

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of his life fighting to rebuild the shattered section and to bring the South back into the Union, in spite of Reconstruction's efforts to put the bottom rail on top.

Mr. Wellman's treatment of the years between Lincoln's assassination and Hayes's election errs, I think, in painting it too blackly; bad as it was, the Southrons sometimes were guilty of provocation. Hampton ran for governor in the 1876 election; having beaten D. H. Chamberlain, a respectable "carpetbagger," he insisted on being inaugurated, irrespective of the Black Republicans' claims that they had been counted out. Federal bayonets barred the putative governor-elect from the state house; rival legislatures competed; finally, after Grant's exit from the White House, and Hayes's entry, Hampton laid his proofs of election before the President, the cabinet met and agreed to withdraw the federal troops from Columbia.

Hampton's post-1876 career was full of political ups and downs, but he got along all right until Ben Tillman beat him for the Senate. His last years were spent in sinecures his friends got for him in the federal bureaucracy. He was as stalwart a fighting man in politics as in the Confederate forces. His merits would shine forth more brightly in this book, however, had there been less Hampton family and more political biography.

Buffalo, New York GEORGE FORT MILTON

THE HOUSE OF BARING IN AMERICAN TRADE AND FINANCE: ENGLISH MERCHANT BANKERS AT WORK, 1763–1861. By *Ralph W. Hidy,* Senior Associate, Business History Foundation. [Harvard Studies in Business History, XIV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xxiv, 631. $7.50.)

HERE at last is the first serious inside account of a firm which ranked as one of the six great powers of Europe until the rise of the Rothschilds increased the number to seven. One need not emphasize the need for detailed studies of both firms, since it is difficult to find any region or any nineteenth century development, whether in the Old World or the New, in which the Barings or the Rothschilds, or both, did not play a part by financing trade and providing for long-term capital needs. There is no sign as yet that the Rothschilds have found, or even sought, a competent historian; but the Barings laid themselves open to the researcher when, many years ago, they allowed Dr. Adam Shortt to transfer to the Canadian archives in Ottawa vast quantities of papers dealing primarily with the operations of the House of Baring in the United States and Canada.

It is from these documents that Dr. Hidy has drawn most of his data. I am greedy enough to wish he had attempted a full-length comprehensive history of the Baring firm through its nearly two centuries of operation and over all its world-wide activities. This would, however, have been a well-nigh impossible task for one man, and by the time Dr. Hidy was ready to go to London the archives

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there had been stowed away out of the reach of bombers. He has, nevertheless, given us the best extant account of the firm's early history, from the day in 1717 when a Bremen pastor's son settled down in Exeter, England, and apprenticed himself to a clothmaker in order to learn about the making and selling of Devonshire serges. By 1815 this immigrant's descendants had built up one of London's leading merchant-banking houses, pre-eminent in financing trade with Europe and America and far ahead of all rivals in the handling of government loans or the operation of international exchange transactions.

After this brief but welcome overture, Dr. Hidy turns to his main objective, "to tell what, when, why, and how the House of Baring did what it did in financing American trade and marketing American securities prior to 1861." The American connection had been established before the Revolution, grew steadily thereafter, and from 1828 to 1842 was the firm's chief interest. It included every kind of service: actual trading in goods, trading on commission, supplying short-term credit to exporters and importers, discounting and accepting bills, making uncovered loans to carefully selected clients, financing shipping, and floating bond issues. After the great depression of 1836–42, with its widespread public and private defaults, repudiations, and bankruptcies, the Barings did not turn their backs on the United States. Instead they toiled patiently to get the defaulters to restore their credit rating. But they did reduce relatively the size of their American enterprises, and by 1861 their business was spread more evenly over the world at large.

Dr. Hidy has told the story in great detail—some readers will think in too great detail. On occasion he devotes a whole chapter to one or two years, and has added over a hundred pages of notes and precise references to the Baring papers. To the critic of such minute narration he would probably reply that he has written a piece of business history, and that in such history it is essential to show why certain policies and techniques were adopted and how operations were actually conducted. So he gives at every stage a statement of the problems confronting the Baring managing partners, the questions they had to answer; he follows their deliberations through to decisions; he notes the amazingly comprehensive intelligence system which they built up and maintained in their desire to be informed of all relevant facts about political or economic trends; and he indicates where their forecasts or decisions proved to be incorrect as well as where they were uncannily sound. For the reader who has the patience to follow deliberation and action as they unfold, the book is a rewarding picture of what it took to gain and retain the repute the Barings enjoyed, also of what an "international banker" can really be like, and finally of how easily the best laid and most carefully considered plans of private (or public) entrepreneurs can be confounded by a "multiplicity of variables." At its best the book is an invaluable addition to our understanding of the unfolding of the modern Atlantic economy; for the rest it will be a very useful reference work on many aspects of the fluctuations of the mid-nineteenth century.

University of Minnesota HERBERT HEATON

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILLIAM BLACKMORE: A CASE STUDY IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST. By *Herbert O. Brayer,* State Archivist of Colorado. Volume I, THE SPANISH-MEXICAN LAND GRANTS OF NEW MEXICO AND COLORADO, 1863–1878. Volume II, EARLY FINANCING OF THE DENVER & RIO GRANDE RAILWAY AND ANCILLARY LAND COMPANIES, 1871–1878. (Denver: Bradford-Robinson. 1949. Pp. vi, 381; vi, 333.)

William Blackmore was an English capitalist who aided in "promoting" American enterprises in the post–Civil War decade by inducing Continental and English investors to purchase stock of or to take a share in them. His chief areas of operations were Colorado and New Mexico, where he was interested in extensive Spanish and Mexican land grants and in the Denver and Rio Grande Railway. He sponsored or wrote numerous pamphlets of dubious authenticity designed to attract immigrants to the area where the grants were centered or to sell securities to fellow capitalists. In these pamphlets his imagination soared into the realm of fantasy and truth was strictly curbed. The result was that he persuaded businessmen to make investments on which they were promised extraordinarily high returns. When the panic of 1873 intervened, the expected stream of immigration did not produce the necessary demand for land or the goods for transportation, and dividends were not forthcoming. Blackmore and his disappointed European associates turned upon their American representatives with bitter complaints, denounced them for beguiling investments with false promises, and demanded that dividends be paid and English counsel be considered in any future policy change.

Herbert Brayer, having unearthed and utilized the Blackmore papers, is able to reproduce in amazingly frank detail the complicated story of the attempts to exploit some of these Mexican land grants. His skillful and judicious treatment is a pleasure to read. That he arouses in me no sympathy for Blackmore, who peddled securities in dubious enterprises, deliberately falsified information to sell securities, practically knifed his fellow investors by his methods, which brought him high profits but final failure and suicide, is no criticism of the author.

In the second volume, dealing with the Denver and Rio Grande Railway, Blackmore is a more shadowy figure, the principal character being General William J. Palmer. Few railroads have been projected in areas less developed than was this and few, perhaps none, had to resort to more devious methods to secure the necessary capital for construction. Without apologizing or defending these methods Brayer takes the reader through the intricate operations with skill and detachment. The story of the conflict between the Santa Fe and the Rio Grande for control of strategic passes has been told frequently by others, especially by George L. Anderson, whose study strangely is missing in the bibliography. I am left here, as with the first volume, with no sympathy for the European investors who bought bonds at sixty per cent of par with heavy stock bonuses and shares in related enterprises thrown in and subsequently demanded high rates on them all.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These two volumes with their strength in the story of financing land and railroad enterprises are useful additions to the literature of American economic history. Their treatment is so good that I finished reading them with a major regret that the story had not been carried into the period after the death of Blackmore, when the really significant development of the Colorado–New Mexico area was to be achieved. Had smaller type been used it would have been possible to include everything in one volume, thereby avoiding the unattractive price of fifteen dollars.

Cornell University PAUL W. GATES

GARFIELD-HINSDALE LETTERS: CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD AND BURKE AARON HINSDALE. Edited by *Mary L. Hinsdale*. (Ann Arbor: *University of Michigan Press*. 1949. Pp. 556. $5.00.)

JAMES A. Garfield began a correspondence with his former pupil, Burke A. Hinsdale in 1858 and continued it until shortly before his assassination. Since both men were interested in serious things, Garfield fell into the habit of describing what he was doing or hoping, and inviting Hinsdale's comments. The two men also adopted the practice of exchanging annual New Year's letters in which each reviewed his own record during the preceding year and discussed the other's. These gave the letters unique value for illuminating almost every step of the statesman's career, and in writing his biography, twenty-five years ago, copious extracts were made by this reviewer from Garfield's letters and occasionally from Hinsdale's. So far as Garfield is concerned there is nothing important in this book which has not been long in print.

But the publication of Hinsdale's letters adds what could not be brought out in the Garfield biography, the interplay of minds and the impact of each man's thought on the other. One recognizes the good fortune of Garfield in having such a correspondent. Hinsdale rapidly outgrew the attitude of a pupil and wrote as an independent thinker. He commented and criticized with as much freedom as affection. Toward the end Garfield, with his usual intellectual modesty, actually laid his problems before the Ohio teacher, submitting to his kindly strictures and defending himself if need be. Since Garfield was increasingly immersed in the life of the politician, while Hinsdale remained a wholly nonpolitical educator and viewed party contests more coolly, this relationship served to steady and illuminate the party campaigner.

The correspondence lacks much that today is considered desirable. There are no scandals, no revelations, no confessions. Neither man was capable of writing with the bitterness and cynicism now fashionable. In fact they wrote right through the period considered nowadays as corrupt and disastrous, without being aware of it. They saw things that they did not like; they condemned the same things that are usually cited in modern writings, but they never considered the country

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rotten nor society bankrupt. There is something tonic in their resolute good faith and good sense.

The late Miss Hinsdale edited the letters with care and thoroughness, doing an especially successful job in identifying every one of the many names included, whether at Washington or on the Western Reserve.

Williamstown, Massachusetts THEODORE CLARKE SMITH

IMMIGRANT LIFE IN NEW YORK CITY, 1825–1863. By *Robert Ernst.* (New York: King's Crown Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 331. $4.50.)

ROBERT Ernst's *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825–1863,* appearing a quarter century after the late Marcus Lee Hansen urged historians to study immigration as a vital process in the nation's past, is the first scholarly work on the religious and national character of the "greatest immigrant port in the world." The Erie Canal was responsible, we learn, for enlarging Manhattan's foreign-born population from eleven per cent in 1825 to forty-eight per cent in 1865. The newly arrived European farmers and artisans displaced by the factory and large-scale farming found work as unskilled hands or artisans, although a few entered business and the professions. In a splendid chapter Mr. Ernst describes German-American working-class radicalism, giving excellent vignettes of Hermann Kriege, the Teutonic counterpart of George Henry Evans, Wilhelm Weitling, utopian socialist, and Joseph Weydemeyer, who introduced Marxian socialism to America. In politics most immigrants supported the Democrats simply because Tammany Hall, in contrast to the Whig machine, went after the foreign vote. Group consciousness was nourished, Mr. Ernst finds, by the immigrant church, press, and associations of one kind or another. The author concludes that immigrants rarely became Americans but that their "children's children" did.

The chief defects of *Immigrant Life in New York City* derive from the author's failure to describe accurately the interplay between native and immigrant cultures. This interplay shaped the character of New York as a community. Mr. Ernst painstakingly records immigrant occupations, yet fails to stress that the combination of foreign labor and American industrial innovations changed New York from being uniquely a commercial entrepôt to an industrial center as well. Nor is the role of the Irish workers clear. In one chapter the author asserts that they supported the reforms of the American labor movement; but in his chapter on the press ("The Voice of the People") he declares that Irish Catholic newspapers vehemently opposed the Working Men's party. Mr. Ernst's spotty treatment of the Know-Nothing party fails to cast light on causes for the cleavage between American and foreign-born.

Finally Mr. Ernst's conclusion is meaningless. If the immigrant failed to become an American, why did he not? How and why did the grandchildren of the immigrants become "integral parts of America"? And for that matter what was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an American in those days? The answers to these questions lie in those areas where native New Yorkers and transplanted Europeans met and either rejected or accepted one another—areas which, for the most part, Mr. Ernst ignores or treats in passing. Like most contemporary works in social history, *Immigrant Life in New York City* is excellent in factual coverage and disappointing in meaningful generalizations.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology ARTHUR MANN

AMERICAN HISTORIANS AND EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS, 1875–1925. By *Edward N. Saveth.* [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 540.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. 244. $3.00.)

IF the subject of Mr. Saveth's well-wrought monograph excites anticipations of an appraisal of rich contributions by American historians in the treatment and interpretation of American immigration, the reader is quickly disillusioned, and the author is as quick to concede the essentially negative character of his findings. Here is a parade of eminent historians—Fiske, Burgess, Lodge, Henry Adams, Parkman, Roosevelt, Turner, Wilson, Schouler, Rhodes, McMaster, Oberholtzer, Osgood, Channing—for whom, in Mr. Saveth's words, immigration, if discussed at all, is merely a "side issue," a "sort of historiographic hangnail." At best, they had "hardly more than an occasional insight into the role of immigration in our national development"—and even this guarded generalization is scarcely given convincing documentation in the author's pages.

After seven of the eight chapters that comprise the book, Mr. Saveth concludes that the historians with whom he deals neither formulated "theses" about the immigrant in American life nor thought "too deeply" about his presence in the society that was being molded in the United States. It is true that the author finds that McMaster, Turner, and Channing had somewhat more awareness than did other historians of the fact that America experienced, in Marcus Lee Hansen's phrase, a "second colonization" that had far-reaching social and economic consequences. But the "norm" of opinion among the chief American historians from 1875 to 1925 was determined by belief in the superiority of the "old stock"; fear of the immigrant as a dangerous innovator; hope that he would somehow adapt himself to the Anglo-Saxon pattern of the country; recognition of the economic value of his muscle and brawn; and a definite, though unacknowledged, nativism rooted in insecurity. Mr. Saveth finds these essential traits in his selected historians whatever the highway they traverse, political, social, or frontier hypothesis, in interpreting the American past. The simple truth is that they knew next to nothing about the immigrants who by the millions were flooding into the country in the nineteenth century.

This is at once a fascinating and a disappointing book. Meticulous study has gone into Mr. Saveth's chapters on the theory of Teutonic origins, Teuton and immigrant, European people in the American forest, the frontier and urban melting

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pots, and American political development. They are packed with analysis and appraisal of value to students of American historiography. The chapter on "The Immigrant and American Society," which discusses, from the immigration point of view, the work of McMaster, Oberholtzer, Channing, and Osgood, is of extraordinary interest for its illumination of their respective frames of reference, though neither the chapter nor these authors yield more than passing and cursory glimpses into the meaning of the immigrant in American society. All this, however negative its outcomes, is a contribution to American historiography.

It is disappointing, on the other hand, to find that the author, with little critical exploration of the writings of the "filiopietists"—the earlier immigrant historians—and with almost no appraisal of their rather rich documentary contributions, has presented so sketchy an account of their work. Nor has he carried his story to its logical conclusion—a probing appraisal of the "corrective viewpoint" of which he takes cognizance in his final chapter—the scholarly researches in American immigration and its significance forwarded by such writers as Mr. Wittke and Mr. Stephenson.

This study might have been very significant, indeed, if it had grappled with the significance of the immigrant in American life in the full sweep of our social, economic, cultural, and political history as interpreted by the modern school of historians of this factor in American life.

The modern school antedates by a decade or more the date that Mr. Saveth chooses for the termination of his inquiry. We do not yet have, he says, "a comprehensive study by an historian of the field of immigration." Perhaps not, but he should at least make mention of Mr. Wittke's *We Who Built America,* published in 1939.

University of Minnesota THEODORE C. BLEGEN

JOHN A. JOHNSON, THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNOR: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *Winifred G. Helmes.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 324. $5.00.)

A WHOLE generation of Democratic politicians in Minnesota could find no greater claim to party recognition than that they had been in some way, however remote, identified with the political career of John A. Johnson.

It is difficult at this time and distance to make the legend of Governor Johnson fully understandable. While he was alive his dominance of the Midwest horizon was partly explained by the almost universal expectation of his future in national affairs. For years, after his death, the Johnson legend fed on conjecture as to what might have been if he had lived to go before the Democratic convention of 1912. The luster of the White House is so great as to illumine the careers of those linked with it even by the fondest hope. In Governor Johnson's case, the hope that died with him was clearly not far-fetched.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This book is a good, straightforward reconstruction of the life of a really great American governor. Painstakingly the author tries to picture him in the midst of the issues and events of his time. The task is not an easy one. It is difficult to see this centrist of the 1900's with the perspective of his own generation. The country has moved a long way from the intellectual environment in which he served. Public statements that made headlines in 1900 sound strangely commonplace now and the tendency to estimate Johnson's platform effectiveness through today's ideological glasses must be resisted.

His personal achievements, on the other hand, would evoke wonder in any generation. He left school at thirteen to support a mother deserted by her drunken husband. He gave himself a good enough education, by reading and by observation, to win the respect of his community and to earn an opportunity to become the editor of a country newspaper, at the age of twenty-six. His rise in politics was remarkable. He exhibited in his public life the versatility, the breadth of view, the balanced and mature outlook of a very well prepared man.

In his political philosophy he was progressive but certainly not radical, even in his own day. He favored lower tariffs, direct election of senators, the primary system, woman suffrage, the initiative and referendum, regulation of corporations. But he was also a sound money man and his defense of labor's right to organize was coupled with deep aversion to labor violence. His views on lobbying sound surprisingly contemporary. He wished to register lobbyists and require them to deal only with committees rather than with individual members of Congress.

He had no background in international affairs. He seemed however to have an instinctive "feel" for what now is popularly called "bipartisan" foreign views. He differed with Minnesota Democrats who tried to high-pressure President McKinley into bringing American troops home from the Philippines. He thought they should stay as long as they were needed.

Johnson's "moral force" is in part attributed by his present biographer as it has been by others to a prolonged illness that caused him great pain and suffering from his early twenties until his death at forty-eight. The parallel with Franklin D. Roosevelt can be drawn here as in some other aspects of Johnson's life.

Adequate as this biography is, it will leave many with a curiosity to know more about Governor Johnson. All that is related in this book does not wholly explain, by any quoted text or delineated tale, his remarkable hold upon his generation. No one can answer the great unanswered question of his career: "What would have happened had he lived until the 1912 convention?" Nor can anyone answer the even larger question: "What would have happened in the United States and in the world if this prairie-born Minnesota governor had been in the White House in 1914?"

Washington, D. C. J. R. Wiggins

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DRY MESSIAH: THE LIFE OF BISHOP CANNON. By *Virginius Dabney.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. ix, 353, ix. $4.00.)

It was inevitable that the story of James Cannon, jr., Methodist bishop, should be told. It was probably inevitable also that it should be told by a journalist rather than by an academic scholar. For it is the kind of story that our journalists are so experienced in telling. I should hasten to add that Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch,* is no ordinary reporter. He is a contributor to the *Dictionary of American Biography,* author of two earlier books on *Liberalism in the South* and *Below the Potomac,* and in 1948 was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing. This book displays a fine capacity for historical research, of which a great deal was required to write the life of Bishop Cannon.

Nevertheless, *Dry Messiah* cannot be described as an objective or definitive biography of the Virginia clerical politician who "broke the Solid South" in 1928 and for more than ten years was described in the customary hyperbole of the times as "the most powerful man in the United States." The title itself indicates an initial bias that is never wholly overcome and which makes the book essentially an exposé, although an exposé of high quality. The spirit of the title is continued in chapter headings, such as "All Aboard for the New Jerusalem," "On the Trail of the Rum Demon," "Cannonian Comstockery," "Idyll in a Bucketshop," "The Bishop and the Brown Derby," "Cherchez la Femme." The very qualities that make the volume interesting and even exciting to read, make it also deficient as a wholly fair and impartial appraisal of Bishop Cannon and the events in which he played so conspicuous a role.

Mr. Dabney was a reporter and editor in Richmond during the time Bishop Cannon was active as the dry boss of the state. His paper, the Richmond *Times-Dispatch,* except for a brief period immediately following adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, had consistently fought Cannon and the particular brand of fanaticism he represented. As early as 1909, following his successful campaign to drive liquor licenses out of rural communities, Cannon said, "Of all the Richmond newspapers, the *Times-Dispatch* has been most unfair and cowardly in its treatment." For over twenty years thereafter, including the period when Mr. Dabney was associated with the paper, no love was lost between the *Times-Dispatch* and James Cannon, jr.

In view of Mr. Dabney's own involvement in the events which he reports, his book shows commendable restraint. And it isn't easy, under the best of circumstances, to be judicious or restrained in discussing the life and works of Bishop Cannon. He was a man of tremendous energy with a boundless will to power and few scruples as to how he achieved it.

As an undergraduate at Randolph-Macon College; as a circuit-riding preacher in Charlotte County, Virginia; as principal of the Blackstone (Virginia) Female Institute; as editor of the *Methodist Recorder,* the Baltimore and Richmond *Christian Advocate,* the Richmond *Virginian,* and the *American Issue;* as chief lobbyist

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and president of the Virginia Anti-Saloon League; as general superintendent of the Southern Methodist Assembly, and as bishop, he waged war on vice and immorality, on profanation of the Sabbath, of which Sunday sports and newspapers were particularly guilty, on tobacco and liquor, and even for a time on Coca-Cola. But his main energies were devoted to the cause of prohibition and to the political master-minding that went with this crusade.

It was in the political sphere that his talents were most effectively employed. For he was the soul of every agitation for local option, state and national prohibition, and thereafter for strict enforcement of the prohibition laws. The foes and critics of prohibition were, to Bishop Cannon, enemies not alone of sobriety but of Christian society and of law and order. Since the heart and center of the anti-prohibition movement was in the large cities, these became fountainheads of evil. Since the large cities were also the centers of the foreign-born and of the Catholic Church, as distinguished from the more nativist and Protestant rural communities, Bishop Cannon trained his guns on them also. When, therefore, the Democrats nominated Al Smith for the presidency in 1928, Cannon found in the New York governor a perfect symbol of all the forces of evil. For Al was a product of the city, a Roman Catholic, and a wet. The campaign against him was bound to be marked by bitterness and bigotry. Nowhere was this more true than in Virginia where Bishop Cannon took the lead in organizing dry Democrats against the presidential nominee of their own party. He took to the stump, not only in Virginia, but through Texas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. He raised large sums to carry on the campaign, and he was indefatigable in his work of propagandizing, organizing, and mobilizing the voters. All the latent Southern suspicion of the North, and particularly of the "foreigners" and the Catholics of the cities, was aroused. For the first time since Reconstruction, the "Solid South" was broken. "Of the fourteen states in which the anti-Smith Democrats had operated, Hoover carried eight," including Texas, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia. It was a triumph for which Bishop Cannon could claim no small measure of credit.

It is not surprising that those who had borne the brunt of his vitriolic attacks and had suffered defeat at his hands should leave no stone unturned in an effort to discredit and destroy him. Nor was it difficult to find weapons with which to belabor the bishop. As a self-righteous man of God who assailed those who opposed him as instruments of Sin and Satan it behooved Bishop Cannon to keep his own skirts clean. This he obviously had failed to do, and, from 1928 almost to his death in 1944, he was involved in investigations or litigation arising out of his personal and political affairs. Charges of stock-jobbing through a New York "bucketshop," of failing to account for large sums collected in connection with the campaign of 1928, and even of personal immorality were leveled at him. The evidence was never quite enough to convict him, and time and again he was formally acquitted by investigating committees of his own church and of Congress, and by the federal court in which he was tried for conspiring to violate the Federal Cor-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rupt Practices Act. Nevertheless, the record is enough to establish this *Dry Messiah* as a man whose own standards of conduct were strikingly inferior to those by which he measured other people.

One can, therefore, have no quarrel with Mr. Dabney in portraying Bishop Cannon as a self-righteous hypocrite and bigot. It is unfortunate that the author's own manifest bias blinds him to the self-righteousness, hypocrisy, and bigotry of those whom Cannon called his foes. I searched this volume in vain for a dispassionate analysis of the tactics used by the liquor traffic in beating back the dry forces. Nor can Mr. Dabney really believe that all the religious bigotry of the 1928 campaign was injected by Bishop Cannon and others of his ilk. As one who campaigned for Al Smith in that election, I was embarrassed again and again by the injection of the religious issue by many of my fellow Democrats. In Massachusetts, where I lived at the time, any criticism of Al's position on almost any issue was likely to result in the cry of bigotry. As a Smith Democrat, I resented this. I am, therefore, disappointed that Mr. Dabney's excellent book should be marred by a similar myopia. A judicious and definitive study of this page in our history remains to be written.

University of California, Berkeley PETER H. ODEGARD

THE BENDING CROSS: A BIOGRAPHY OF EUGENE VICTOR DEBS. By *Ray Ginger*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1949. Pp. x, 516. $5.00.)

THIS book, the best biography of Eugene Debs yet published, is a valuable contribution to the history of American political and economic radicalism. The author used all the major collections of sources bearing on his work with the exception of the materials on Debs in the National Archives, and the evidence there would not alter his conclusions. Documentary sources for a life of Debs are unusually meager for one who was so long in the public eye, and Mr. Ginger, therefore, had to rely heavily on interviews with Debs's associates. His search extended even to two persons who had been Debs's fellow prisoners at Atlanta, and the writer's energy and ingenuity in running down more than threescore people who knew the socialist leader yielded rich rewards.

The greatest contribution of *The Bending Cross* to knowledge about Debs is the able presentation of the evolution of the man from organization Democrat and conservative craft unionist to revolutionary socialist, via industrial unionism, Populism, and utopian colonization. The author explodes the myth that Debs became a socialist when he read Victor Berger's copy of *Capital* while a prisoner at Woodstock after the Pullman strike. Strange that that heavy work was ever ascribed such missionary powers! Mr. Ginger has presented well the neglected role of Debs in the Populist movement, although a fuller account of Debs in the 1894 campaign would have improved the treatment.

Mr. Ginger's portrait of Debs is not a caricature, as were the various Debses

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pictured by previous biographers. The author rightly implies that Debs was a curious mixture of Karl Marx, John Brown, and James Whitcomb Riley. "The process of change from Christian to Marxist was never completed by Eugene Debs, and it cast up grave inconsistencies in his temperament." Although Debs was the leading American advocate of an originally European doctrine, "he was more Midwestern than a worn and rotting plow-handle buried deep in the soil of a Kansas farm" (p. 459).

The book's faults derive from a confusion as to whether the work was to be "popular" or scholarly, whether it was to smack of the city desk or the seminar. Thus the generally sound scholarship is marred by occasional flights of speculation (pp. 3, 64) in the treatment of Debs's childhood and youth, for which period there are very few reliable sources. Moreover, there are no footnotes; a twenty-eight page section on "Sources" at the end of the book serves fairly well as documentation, but it is not as adequate as conventional footnotes. This confusion of purpose extends even to the title.

Mr. Ginger's biography contributes to an understanding of American socialism. The small but growing corps of historians working in that field can use this book to good advantage.

Carnegie Institute of Technology DAVID A. SHANNON

CORAL SEA, MIDWAY, AND SUBMARINE ACTIONS, MAY 1942–AUGUST 1942. By *Samuel Eliot Morison.* [*History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume IV.*] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1949. Pp. xxiii, 307. $6.00.)

THIS work by a distinguished American historian is the fourth volume in the "History of United States Naval Operations in World War II." Based largely on United States sources, it is written primarily from the vantage point of Washington, but access to official Japanese documents taken from Japan after the surrender and visits to Tokyo by two assistants have enabled Professor Morison to supply more information from the Japanese side than has existed in any of the studies by others (some of them erroneous, biased, irresponsible, and naive) which have been published heretofore. As such, this volume is a significant contribution to the literature on the war.

Here is an author who knows the conflict in the Pacific. He writes not only with clarity, vigor, and authority but with a good amount of brine in his pen. The author is strongest when he discusses the American side of the story, but he also displays a broad understanding of Japanese strategy, tactics, and operations. The best part of the book is the three chapters on Midway, which, like the others in the volume, are vivid and full of punch, with enough of the human element in the narrative to keep the story dramatic, fresh, and alive. Emphasis on Midway is legitimate, for it was one of the critical battles of the war—of tremendous strategic significance both to the United States and Japan. For this reason,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

too, it is regrettable that the whole background and thinking of the Japanese high command could not have been presented and analyzed more thoroughly. The Midway operation was so great in scope, planning, and expectation that it cannot be seen in its true perspective unless this part of the Japanese story is completely clarified.

Professor Morison's judicious impartiality, conspicuously absent in many accounts on the Japanese war, is admirable and has made a salutary impression among the Japanese. It is also encouraging to see Intelligence (that disgracefully neglected child of all the services before World War II) receive its proper due. Besides being informative and lively, the chapter on submarine operations does not gloss over the Navy's serious shortcomings in the field of torpedo warfare. Incidentally, the author relates that the submarine *Flying Fish* had the chance of a lifetime in late August, 1942, when "a battleship showed up in her periscope sights" (p. 212). It certainly did, for the battleship was none other than the mighty *Yamato,* flagship of the Combined Fleet—a mere 64,000 tons standard displacement with nine 18.2-inch guns.

Some of the factual errors throughout the book may be noted. The land-based twenty-fifth air flotilla at Rabaul was under the command of Vice Admiral Tsukahara, not Vice Admiral Inouye (p. 14); the third phase of Japanese strategy for 1942, the occupation of the Fijis, Samoa, and New Caledonia, was never activated (p. 76); a second supply group consisting of *Nichiro Maru, Daini Kyoei Maru,* and *Hoko Maru* should be added to the Japanese carrier striking force at Midway (p. 88); the Japanese Navy commenced hostilities with sixty-five submarines, not sixty (p. 195); the Japanese submarine school was located at Kure, not Yokosuka (p. 196); the new eighth fleet was created on July 14, 1942, not June 10 (p. 255); and Vice Admiral Mikawa arrived at Rabaul on July 29, not June 29 (p. 256). Admiral Marushige (pp. 22, 24, 29, 32, 34, and 42) should be Marumo. There are others, but they do not detract from the value of the book.

A paragraph might have been added on the meaning of the battle of the Coral Sea to General MacArthur's position in Australia and New Guinea, since the action was initially caused by the Japanese attempt to capture Port Moresby, which, if it had been successful, would have been a bitter blow to the meager forces in the Southwest Pacific command. The midget submarine attacks against Sydney and Diego Saurez, Madagascar, in 1942 were not intended "as diversions in connection with Midway" (p. 88). The attack against Sydney was intended more as a psychological gesture to exploit the fear and apprehension that existed in Australia, while the attack against Diego Suarez was launched because the Japanese Navy had information that the British Fleet was using it as a base. Then, too, the Combined Fleet wanted to settle the controversial question which had long been raging in Japanese naval circles: Could the midget submarines be used successfully against the enemy? In addition, the Japanese were so confident about Midway that they did not think diversion tactics necessary.

The conclusion on Midway regarding the Japanese could have been much

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stronger. Although some of Japan's leading admirals pretended that their loss was not too great, Admiral Yamamoto, commander in chief of the Combined Fleet, and his staff knew it was a major disaster. So did the air officers of the First Air Fleet. It is true, as the author says, that the "Japanese Fleet was intact, except for the carriers" (p. 159) (*Akagi, Kaga, Hiryu,* and *Soryu*), but these represented Japan's scoring punch, and they were all on the bottom of the sea. Midway was the great turning point in the naval war in the Pacific. After that crushing defeat the Japanese did not have enough carriers or pilots, and Japan's wheelbarrow economy could not make up the loss nor could it keep pace with the enormous production of the American industrial colossus. Up to and including Midway, the keynote of Japanese naval strategy was aggressive operations (*Shinko Sakusen*); after Midway they were forced to adopt a negative policy (*Yogeki Sakusen*)—defensive operations.

It is unfortunate that the author was forced to rely solely on the testimony of Admiral Yamamoto's yeoman for a picture of conditions in the headquarters of the Combined Fleet during the Midway action (pp. 138–44). Some of the surviving ex-Japanese navy officers insist that the yeoman was in no position to observe events carefully and record them accurately, and they challenge the veracity of his story. In any subject as important as this, reliance should not be placed on the testimony of only one witness, especially when he was not in a position of staff responsibility. The Japanese high command never seriously thought the United States would attempt to invade Japan via the Aleutians. Whatever his source for this statement (pp. 162, 169, and 181), the author does not quote it. Reassurance can be given to his assumptions concerning the United States amphibious force which invaded Guadalcanal (p. 281). The Japanese did not know about this force nor were they aware of its approach until it was much too late. Among other things, bad weather had interfered with their reconnaissance flights in the Guadalcanal area at the time.

The reviewer has spent almost four years in Japan working with ex-Japanese navy and army officers. On the basis of first-hand knowledge and experience, he is keenly aware of the difficult problems inherent in the task of studying Japanese thinking, strategy, and operations. The reviewer can emphasize without danger of exaggeration that anyone who attempts to dig deeply into the Japanese story of the war has an enormous and complicated assignment on his hands. The fact that Professor Morison was unable to visit Japan himself has put him at a disadvantage, but the excellent story he has told with what Japanese materials were at his disposal is a real tribute to his great ability as a writer, his mastery of atmosphere, and his sure grasp of historical perspective.

Contrary to what some reviewers have said, this book, in terms of finality and completeness, is not a definitive history. Nor does Professor Morison make such a claim, for as one who has probed the conflict against Japan, he knows that there are wide gaps in the story and that the Japanese field is, in many respects, like a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rich and virgin prairie awaiting exploitation. Books like anything else are relative and must be measured in terms of time and circumstances, and, within the limits of both, the author has done an excellent job. This is the true test of any historian. In the years to come when more Japanese official sources, memoirs, and assorted private papers are brought to light, and when all of the important surviving ex-Japanese officers have been thoroughly and properly interrogated, we can expect to see a much more comprehensive treatment from the direction of Tokyo. For the present, however, it is important that this book was written now, for there is great merit in timeliness alone. Those who are interested in the war in the Pacific will find much that is new, suggestive, and interesting in this work, and they will be grateful to Professor Morison for his important contribution. They will also remember that it is infinitely greater to blaze a trail than to follow one.

Tokyo, Japan GORDON W. PRANGE

THE STRUGGLE FOR GUADALCANAL, AUGUST 1942–FEBRUARY 1943. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume V.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1949. Pp. xxii, 389. $6.00.)

"FOR us who were there, or whose friends were there," says Captain Morison in conclusion, "Guadalcanal is not a name but an emotion." To this one must say amen, while noting that emotion has not impeded the production of a fine volume on the bitterest and most complicated six months' fighting of the Pacific war. Here reconstructed and described in masterly fashion is a bloody series: ashore the struggle for Henderson Field and the air operations; at sea the disaster of Savo Island, bone-crushing Cape Esperance and Guadalcanal, discouraging Tassafaronga, and the carrier actions of the Eastern Solomons and Santa Cruz. These are memorable events: at Guadalcanal, a world away, our Navy bought valuable time and invaluable experience, though at a terrible price, and the enemy suffered losses he never could repair.

Extensive use of Japanese as well as American sources has resulted in a wealth of detail; respect for the enemy gives the treatment balance; the accuracy with which these infinitely complex matters are handled is very notable. Two errors, of the kind that plague the most conscientious author, may perhaps be mentioned: the photograph of *Duncan* is of the ship of that name commissioned in May, 1945, not of the one under discussion which was sunk at Cape Esperance; Ontong Java, frequently mentioned in the text, appears in the charts only under its alias as Lord Howe Islands.

The present is the fifth of a projected fourteen volumes and, as the number in print increases, so certain problems of integration become more acute. The story of the campaign, as here set forth, lacks the larger view owing to the fact that the strategic situation and American planning for the seizure of the Guadalcanal-Tulagi

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

area have been treated in Volume IV. Wars are not of course fought in equal installments, but some recapitulation would help the reader to see the purpose and significance of the struggle and would explain references to unidentified units (*e.g.*, p. 58 n.); similarly such a detail as the nature of "Fox" broadcasts might be briefly expounded in the footnote (p. 25) which instead refers the reader back to Volume I.

Captain Morison's own plan of operations is a narrative one and he does not heave to for extended critical analyses; nevertheless as he zigzags along his course he from time to time hoists signals dealing out appropriate praise or blame. He is not uncritical: Frank Jack Fletcher, for example, gets his full deserts; only in the treatment of the cruiser night action of November 13 and in the question of flag officers' appreciation of radar does this reviewer feel that more could perhaps be said and less inferred. And never does the author forget that humanity is the stuff of history: amid the storm of battle he earns our gratitude for preserving such important incidentals as the Guadalcanal medal (p. 66 n.) and some distinguished front-line dialogue (p. 193 n.).

Finally this book, as indeed the whole series to date, is a remarkable example of tradition and individual talent, of awareness "of the timeless as well as of the temporal," of literate history of a kind rare in this country. Where else could we find, to take random samples, *Macbeth, Richard III, Ossian, Paradise Lost,* the Book of Daniel, all fused with and illuminating the history of the struggle for that stinking island? Above all, we must approve the author's translation of the Horatian ode (p. 185 n.); this indeed sets the dominant mood, and the Homeric echo is a felicitous one—at times, in these months, it seemed that the campaign for Guadalcanal would last as long as that for Troy.

In this Iliad the intervention of the Olympians receives small notice: the planning is in the previous volume; there is here no answer to the question (perhaps unanswerable) of why Yamamoto courted defeat by committing his forces in driblets; we lack material for an estimate of that Telamonian Ajax who commanded from Noumea. But on the level of the embarked Teucers and their *fortes viri,* this is an impressive book.

Swarthmore College JAMES A. FIELD, JR.

GUADALCANAL: THE FIRST OFFENSIVE. By *John Miller, jr.* [The United States Army in World War II: The War in the Pacific.] (Washington: Historical Division, Department of the Army. 1949. Pp. xviii, 413. $4.00.)

THIS volume provides the first comprehensive account of ground operations during the Guadalcanal campaign. Covering Army as well as Marine Corps operations, it completes the story told in part by Captain H. L. Merillat in *The Island* (Boston, 1944) by Fletcher Pratt in *The Marine's War* (New York, 1946), and by Captain Frank Hough in *The Island War* (Philadelphia, 1947). When read in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

connection with Professor S. E. Morison's recently published *The Struggle for Guadalcanal, August 1942–February 1943,* it offers a balanced and complete history of the first American offensive operation in World War II.

Preparation of this operational history involved great difficulties. No combat historians accompanied Marine Corps and Army troops into Guadalcanal. Records of this campaign are fragmentary and in some cases nonexistent. Because American forces occupied a limited perimeter around Henderson Field in the early stages of the campaign, oral orders predominated. There were no interrogations of combat units after action such as took place in other theaters. Many Marine Corps and Army officers worked at one time or another roughing out the framework of this history, but it remained for Mr. Miller, a wartime Marine, to bring all their efforts to fruition. The result can be described as a successful example of combined historical operations.

The Guadalcanal campaign was perhaps the strangest operation conducted by American forces in World War II. It began as a Navy-initiated limited offensive undertaken to stop the Japanese advance toward our supply routes to Australia. The First Marine Division, incompletely trained for amphibious operations, was given the assignment of taking Tulagi and Guadalcanal with barely enough air and naval support to cover the landing and not enough to afford continuous support after the landing. A hectic race developed between the Japanese and ourselves to supply and reinforce this theater. There followed a battle of attrition in which American forces gained air and sea superiority while the First Marine Division defeated every Japanese effort to dislodge them from their defensive positions around Henderson Field.

As could be expected at this stage of the war there were many mistakes in intelligence on both sides during the Guadalcanal campaign. We underestimated the Japanese garrison on Tulagi and overestimated their forces on Guadalcanal. The Japanese not only underestimated the weight of our landing forces but consistently underestimated our strength on the island until after the failure of their major offensive efforts against Henderson Field. We consistently underestimated the number of troops they were able to transport from Rabaul to Guadalcanal. Fortunately for our side the Japanese reinforced their troops on the island in driblets and committed them to action without waiting to build up a decisive superiority. The tendency of Japanese officers to falsify their reports in order to make a favorable impression at higher headquarters also helped our cause.

Credit for defeating the Japanese efforts to dislodge the American forces from Guadalcanal belongs to the First Marine Division and to the air and naval forces which combined to make these efforts so costly that they were abandoned. The task of repelling the Japanese from the island after the failure of their offensives fell to the Second Marine Division, the Americal Division, and the Twenty-fifth Division. It is in the chapters dealing with the American cleanup offensive operations during December, 1942, and January, 1943, that the student of military history will find

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the most useful new material on the Guadalcanal campaign. All things considered, this is a noteworthy addition to the series of operational histories of American combat forces in World War II.

University of Missouri H. A. DeWeerd

CHURCH AND STATE IN GUATEMALA. By *Mary P. Holleran,* Associate Professor of History, St. Joseph College, West Hartford, Connecticut. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 549.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 359. $4.75.)

With the exception of Mexico, the ebb and flow of the church-state conflict has been as pronounced in Guatemala as in any Latin-American country. For example, for a decade after independence in 1821 the higher clergy and the aristocracy, who dominated the Conservative party, managed to maintain the colonial status of the Catholic Church as the official and solely tolerated cult. This status was disturbed when, in 1831, control passed to the Liberal party. Then was inaugurated a far-reaching anticlerical program remarkably similar to the contemporary Gómez Farías reform in Mexico. But, with the return to power of the Conservatives in 1839, the various anticlerical measures were revoked, and generally the religious *status quo ante* was restored. The culmination of the reaction was the negotiation, in 1852, of a concordat, the first negotiated by the Vatican with any Latin-American republic.

In 1871 there was another about-face in the church-state conflict in Guatemala when the government passed into the power of the Liberals. Then it was that the anticlerical reform was carried the full distance to the separation of church and state. By 1880 the power of the Catholic Church in Guatemala was definitely and permanently destroyed.

Why this phenomenon of anticlericalism in Guatemala? Dr. Holleran answers directly and correctly that the Liberal politicians were inveighing against "political Catholicism." It was a civil conflict and was completely unrelated to anti-Catholicism or antireligion. "When the Church acts," she says, "like a political party it will be treated like one. When churchmen become politicians, they will be regarded as politicians." She comments on the inability of Anglo-American Catholics to realize this, for "they quickly raise the cry of persecution, and reacting emotionally, they want the United States government to intervene." The recent anticlerical campaign in Mexico evoked such an outcry.

However justified may have been the objectives of the anticlerical reform in Guatemala, a pertinent question must be asked: Have the results been salutary? Dr. Holleran's description of the religious situation in Guatemala today compels a negative answer. "The physical deterioration of church property," she says, "seems to stand as a symbol of the deterioration which has been social and spiritual as well as political. . . . In town after town the parishes are indicated as being vacant

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and, even where there is a clergyman in residence, his *convento* and church are often in a state of disrepair or practical ruin. Spiritually, the people have been too long left without adequate teaching and guidance; consequently and naturally, the moral tone has been definitely lowered."

Most of the wholly inadequate clergy (only 120 priests, mostly foreign, for a population of three million) live in the cities and therefore are not at the service of the Indians, who comprise about sixty-five per cent of the population. For example, "the parish of Huehuetanango, with 176,000 souls, has only two priests." To most of the Indian communities the priest gets around about once a year, if that often. When Dr. Holleran asked a village schoolmaster how the Indians could reconcile their old Mayan beliefs with Christianity, she received the gentle and seemingly adequate reply: "They see nothing inconsistent at all in their beliefs. An Indian spends his days close to the hills and the plains; it is not strange, then, that he would make a connection between them and divinity."

Although this study fails at times to delve deep enough into the basic and fundamental factors which explain the motivating forces in the church-state conflict, it is nevertheless an adequate case study of politico-ecclesiastical relationships in a particular Latin-American country. It could be used as a model for similar studies in other states.

The reviewer confesses that he was on the watch for evidence of bias or prejudice, so common in a work of this character, but he is happy to report that he detected absolutely none. Indeed the author's attitude toward her subject can be best characterized as sympathetic, understanding, and tolerant. The good and the bad on both sides of the controversy are given an impartial hearing.

Unfortunately this effort at objectivity, which induces caution, has somewhat impaired the author's sense of critical discernment. Too much testimony is allowed without evaluation or analysis. Also, most of the personages who played prominent roles in the church-state drama fail to impress as personalities primarily because of the lack of satisfying motivation for their acts. A good study could have been greatly improved and made much more convincing had greater attention been devoted to the character delineation of the *dramatis personae*.

University of Texas J. Lloyd Mecham

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

THE STORY OF THE SHIP. By *Charles E. Gibson.* (New York, Henry Schuman, 1948, pp. xiv, 272, $4.00.) The development of the ship from the earliest times to the present is one of the great romances of man, and its story has attracted many authors in the past. There are many specialized volumes on individual types of ships, both of commerce and of war, and of particular eras of shipping or maritime struggle. There have also been previous attempts to gather the whole story within the covers of a single volume. Yet the present book, while it can scarcely be deemed to "fill a need" as the trite phrase goes, deserves a special and honored place among its kind. Written strictly for laymen by a former lieutenant in the British Navy, *The Story of the Ship* is a good example of that kind of "popularization" which must command the respect of scholars. For though it is a short book without any of the trappings of scholarship, it reflects careful and even loving research and a fine sense of scholarly values. It is also simply and attractively written, which makes for relaxed reading. It is a book which the student in other fields will save for his recreational reading, and incidentally —since this review is being written at the Christmas season—it is the kind of historical work which makes an admirable gift for the alert older boy. There are a few excellently chosen illustrations, and also at the end of the book under the label "recommended reading" a short but discriminating list of titles of other works. The book is an altogether worthy addition to the "Life of Science" series put out by the publishers. The reflections stimulated by Mr. Gibson's work are of course not unique to this volume, and yet one cannot forebear to mention again the feeling of awe at man's daring and adventure in his long struggle with the sea. In this day of air travel with its occasional tragic accidents it is intriguing to be reminded that of the eight hundred and six ships which left Portugal for the Indies between 1497 and 1612, not fewer than twelve per cent were lost through shipwreck, that Drake's *Golden Hind* had a keel only forty-seven feet long, or about the length of a small modern ranch-type house, and that before the days of the wireless any catastrophe at sea was all the more terrible for the vast loneliness in which it took place. One is impressed again with the slow, tortuous, trial-and-error mode of development in marine architecture and sailing techniques prior to the nineteenth century, followed by the swift rush of new designs within that century. And one feels, finally, that while there will always be ships, and their importance in the future will scarcely be less than it has been in the past, the story of their development is now largely a completed one. BERNARD BRODIE, *Yale University*

POETRY AND PROSE OF THE CONTINENTAL RENAISSANCE IN TRANSLATION. Selected and Edited by *Harold Hooper Blanchard,* Fletcher Professor of English Literature in Tufts College. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1949, pp. xix, 1084, $6.00.) Our age is given over in the study of literature extensively to the use of selections and epitomes (a practice which Bacon severely condemns). That being the case, one might ask with reason for two qualities in an anthology, namely, that the selections should be as ample as possible and should be chosen with an eye to their significance. These are the merits of Professor Blanchard's book. He devotes himself to the international culture of the Renaissance, makes no pretense of a completeness which would include any minor writers or excellent small bits and single works. His idea is that the English Renaissance is part and parcel of the Continental Renaissance

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and does not and cannot stand alone. Those of us who devote our lives as teachers to Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and their contemporaries recognize this fact and do what we can to make our pupils acquainted with the great missing parts of our subject. This book will make the task easier. The editor avows the purpose of supporting and supplementing those courses in English literature which are based on any one of the many available collections of the literature of the Renaissance in England. He limits himself to Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Castiglione, Ariosto, Erasmus, Rabelais, Ronsard, Montaigne, and Cervantes, and in his 1084 pages is able to offer extensive selections from each of them. If one needed confirmation of Professor Blanchard's idea of the dependence of the English Renaissance on the Continental Renaissance, a thing which no one does need, it would come from the English Renaissance itself. The men of that time recognized the literary bareness of their native land, and translation from French and Italian, as well as from Latin and Greek, is even quantitatively one of the greatest achievements of the age. The Elizabethans translated freely, not too accurately, but with great spirit. Indeed, they are said correctly enough to have made these foreign works over into English works. It is not, however, this group of translators who appear in the book before us. There is something to be said for seeing the Continental authors as the Elizabethans saw them and consequently for reading them in the English versions of that time. But the editor has chosen, no doubt wisely, to republish clear modern versions of his selections; such as, Auslander's Petrarch, Gilbert's Machiavelli, Page's (rather than Lang's) Ronsard, Zeitlin's Montaigne, and Ormsby's Cervantes. Intermingled with these are other versions. One misses the name of Rossetti, and there are modern translations of both Montaigne and Cervantes which might have been preferred, although the matter is debatable. The book has good introductions to the groups of selections and an intelligently selected bibliography for each author, as also an interesting brief bibliography of the Renaissance as a whole. HARDIN CRAIG, *University of Missouri*

MENNONITE PIETY THROUGH THE CENTURIES: ITS GENIUS AND ITS LITERATURE. By *Robert Friedmann*. [Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, No. 7.] (Goshen, Ind., Mennonite Historical Society, 1949, pp. xvi, 287, $3.50.) Dr. Friedmann's study of Mennonite piety consists of two parts: an essay on "Anabaptism and Pietism," which had previously been published in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* and a bibliographical study of "Mennonite Devotional Literature, 1600–1800." Of the two the first is of greater interest to the general historian. The author traces the development of the three main divisions of Anabaptism—the Mennonites of Holland and northwest Germany, the Swiss brethren, and the Hutterites—and their diffusion to various parts of Europe and the United States. The most original material is the sociological comparison between Anabaptism and Pietism. Anabaptism, as the author points out, had different social roots from Pietism. It appealed primarily to the peasant population while Pietism found its strongest response in the cities and towns. But the chief difference between the two was with respect to their attitude toward the world around them. Both Anabaptism and Pietism found true piety and salvation in man's inner experience and beyond church and ritual. But whereas Pietism accommodated itself to the world order and never assumed either a radical "prophetism" or a revolutionary protest against the "evil world," Anabaptism, in its most creative periods, developed a set of political, social, and ethical mores of a most revolutionary character. It was only when the earlier mainsprings of the movement became extinguished that Mennonite Anabaptism likewise began to accommodate itself to the "evil world" and thus, as Friedmann points out, to come closer to Pietism. The most extreme and tragic manifestation of this process of accommodation was the whole-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hearted support given by the Mennonites in Germany to the racialist and militarist policies of the Nazi regime—an ironic contrast to the opposition of the Lutherans of the Confessional church. Dr. Friedmann seems to have a nice awareness of the problems of sociological history of religion. Unfortunately most of his book is either purely doctrinal and sectarian in character or bibliographical and descriptive. The interesting observations of intellectual history are buried in the mass. The history of the smaller religious sects in the United States, from the standpoint of the development of political and social ideas and movements, has received but scant attention at the hands of American scholars. It has been left largely to official denominational scholars and publications. The value of a great many of these denominational studies must be recognized. But the subject far transcends the confines of the particular denominations in importance and interest. We still need an American Troeltsch or Max Weber to do for American religious history what they and their students did so brilliantly for the European scene. It is a field which offers rich creative rewards.

KOPPEL S. PINSON, *Queens College, New York*

A TREASURY OF GREAT REPORTING: "LITERATURE UNDER PRESSURE" FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO OUR OWN TIME. Edited by *Louis L. Snyder,* Associate Professor of History, the College of the City of New York, and *Richard B. Morris,* Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1949, pp. xxxii, 784, $5.00.) Reporters are the shock troops of history. The speed of their "research" makes a scholar wince. Their writing races the clock. Structure, detail, and the right word must fall in place as fast as their fingers can hit a typewriter. Yet, though they write only for the day, occasionally they create a classic. From the reporting of four centuries, two historians have now winnowed out 175 of the world's top news stories. The result packs a wallop. But it's not for bedtime reading. The book seems to psychoanalyze recent history, bringing back sharp realities that men have glozed over or buried in their subconscious. Most great events had great observers. Dickens, Hugo, Marx, Greeley, Twain, Kipling, Churchill, Hecht, Broun, Duranty, Sheean, Hemingway, Winchell, Reynolds, Shirer, Steinbeck, Murrow, Pyle, Gunther, Rebecca West—these are mere samples of the writers included. In the best reporting of today, the editors see more subtlety and depth. Yesterday's reporters, good though they were, find the proximity rough on haloes. Herbert Bayard Swope writes a pithy introduction. The editors sketch the evolution of reporting and greatly heighten the continuity and interest by weaving around each story its background and consequences. There's a wealth of collateral reading to enliven modern history classes. Less happy are some of the cute or confusing captions and some of the thirty-two pages of illustration. The editors' choice of "war correspondence, political campaigns, murder trials, the deaths of kings and presidents, revolutions, famines . . ." is slanted toward historical significance. Newsmen might like more samples of high craftsmanship on lighter stuff. And where are the great reporters of antiquity? Nevertheless—from the Thaw and Snyder murder cases to the more significant execution of an obscure Negro, from the original story of the Light Brigade to that of *A Bell for Adano,* from Bedlam to atom bombs, and from the San Francisco fire down to the dog with false teeth—there is "must" reading for every educator and newsman, and exciting enough reading for anyone.

HAROLD R. JOLLIFFE, *Michigan State College*

ARTICLES

Seventy-fourth Critical Bibliography of the History and Philosophy of Science and of the History of Civilization. *Isis,* no. 122, Nov., 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A. MacC. Armstrong. The Structure of History. *Cambridge Jour.*, Nov., 1949.

Sven Stelling-Michaud. Objet, méthode et problèmes de l'histoire des doctrines politiques. *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte*, VII, 1949.

Benedetto Croce. Lo storicismo e l'idea tradizionale della filosofia. *Quaderni della "Critica,"* Mar., 1949.

Id. La monotonia e la vacuità della storiografia comunistica. *Ibid.*, July, 1949.

Abbott Payson Usher. The Significance of Modern Empiricism for History and Economics. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Nov., 1949.

Sir Frederick Rees. Recent Trends in Economic History. *History*, Feb.–June, 1949.

Shepard B. Clough. Economics and History. *Social Educ.*, Jan., 1950.

Paul Honigsheim. Max Weber as Historian of Agriculture and Rural Life. *Agric. Hist.*, July, 1949.

Friedrich Engel-Janosi. Das historische Weltbild Arnold J. Toynbees. *Wissenschaft und Weltbild*, Oct., 1949.

Renato Poggioli. A Tentative Literary Historiography Based on Pareto's Sociology. *Symposium*, May, 1949.

David Spring. History and Sociology: A Plea for Humility. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Sept., 1949.

Friedrich Engel-Janosi. Der Vatikan im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Zur diplomatischen Tätigkeit des Heiligen Stuhles. *Wort und Wahrheit*, IV, no. 10, 1949.

Werner Näf. Herrschaftsverträge und die Lehre vom Herrschaftsvertrag. *Schweizer Beitr. z. allg. Gesch.*, VII, 1949.

Max Silberschmidt. Wandlungen des staatlich-politischen Weltbildes unter dem Einfluss Amerikas. *Hesperia* (Zurich), Apr., 1949.

E. Fueter. Was ist Auslandforschung? *Ibid.*, Dec., 1948.

Lord Vansittart. The Decline of Diplomacy. *For. Affairs*, Jan., 1950.

Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton[1]

EGYPT FROM ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE ARAB CONQUEST: A STUDY IN THE DIFFUSION AND DECAY OF HELLENISM. By *H. Idris Bell*, Reader in Papyrology in the University of Oxford. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1948, pp. vii, 168.) The chapters in this book comprise the Gregynog Lectures for 1946 delivered in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. Prepared for an educated audience consisting largely of nonspecialists in the field of papyrology, the chapters contain a series of analyses of the historical periods in Egyptian history from the Ptolemaic through the Byzantine periods. As one familiar with this type of material would expect, the account is especially rich in materials relating to fiscal policy, taxation, and the official stratification of society. The general reader familiar with historical development will find the chapters extremely interesting and intelligible throughout, yet the specialist will detect, in many places, the author's concern with vexed and disputed problems. The basic materials and the current research works are all utilized admirably, and the notes and bibliography at the end of the book are extremely useful for students of the period. As instances of the author's concern with disputed questions, one might cite his reference to the *politeuma* in the Ptolemaic period and many references to the question of the existence of the senate at Alexandria. The first chapter on "Papyri and the Science of Papyrology" gives us a discussion of this specialized field, its methods and materials, the like of which was not previously available in English. Moreover the historical analysis of the Ptolemaic, Roman,

[1] Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Byzantine periods is certainly a more thorough synthesis of the materials than has heretofore been available in our language. Most interesting to the historian, perhaps, is the thorough and closely reasoned analysis of the manner in which Roman taxation, its weight, and its methods, contributed to the disintegration of society and the destruction of the Hellenic element. There is a good index.

THOMAS A. BRADY, *University of Missouri*

GENERAL ARTICLES

CH. DELVOYE. Remarques sur la seconde civilisation néolithique du continent grec et des îles avoisinantes. *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, LXXIII, 1949.

G. A. KAPANTSIAN. O dvukh sotsial'no-politicheskikh terminakh drevnogo Blizhnego Vostoka: Ewri "Vladyko, Tsar" i Pitiaḫs (Bitiaḫs) "Vladetel' ili Pravitel' Oblasti" [two socio-political terms in the ancient Near East: Ewri "Master, Emperor" and Pitiaḫs "Owner or Ruler of the District"]. *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, no. 3, 1949.

RENÉ DUSSAUD. L'invention des hiéroglyphes d'après Philon de Byblos. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

E. V. CHERESOV. K voprosu o pozemel'nykh otnosheniiakh v Egipte epokhi Drevnogo Tsarstva [the question of agrarian relationships in Egypt in the period of the Old Empire]. *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, no. 3, 1949.

H. GALLET DE SANTERRE. Délos, la Crète et le continent mycénien au second millénaire. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

SP. MARINATOS. Les légendes royales de la Crète minoenne. *Rev. archéol.*, July, 1949.

H. G. GÜTERBOCK. Die Bedeutung der Bilinguis vom Karatepe für die Entzifferung der hethitischen Hieroglyphen. *Eranos*, XLVII, fasc. 3–4, 1949.

L. A. EL'NITSKII. Kimmeriitsy i Kimmeriiskaia kultura [the Kimmerians and Kimmerian culture]. *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, no. 3, 1949.

H. F. D. SPARKS. The Witness of the Prophets to Hebrew Tradition. *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, July, 1949.

SOLOMON GANDZ. Studies in the Hebrew Calendar. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, Oct., 1949.

Y. BÉQUIGNON. De quelques usurpations d'Apollon en Grèce centrale, d'après des recherches récentes. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

FRANÇOIS CHAMOUX. Les Anténorides à Cyrène. *Ibid.*

GEORGES MÉAUTIS. Thucydide et Eschyle. *Ibid.*

THOMAS G. ROSENMEYER. The Family of Critias. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Oct., 1949.

F. SOKOLOWSKI. Sur un passage de la convention Delphes-Skiathos. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

W. P. WALLACE. The Public Seal of Athens. *Phoenix*, Autumn, 1949.

JACQUES TRÉHEUX. Les dernières années de Délos sous le protectorat des Amphictions. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

M. N. TOD. Greek Record-Keeping and Record-Breaking. *Class. Quar.*, July, 1949.

L. LERAT. Krisa. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

ALFRED LAUMONIER. Art et mystique en Grèce. *Ibid.*

S. I. KOVALEV. Aleksandr i Klit [Alexander and Kleitos]. *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, no. 3, 1949.

GIOVANNI PUGLIESE CARRATELLI. Alessandro e la costituzione rodia. *La Parola del Passato*, fasc. 11, 1949.

PAUL CLOCHÉ. Remarques sur les étapes de l'ambition d'Antigone Ier jusqu'en 316 avant J.-C. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

JEAN BOUSQUET. Callimaque, Hérodote et le trône de l'Hermès de Samothrace. *Ibid.*

K. M. KOLOBOVA. Farnak I Pontiiskii [Pharnaces I of Pontus]. *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, no. 3, 1949.

T. V. BLAVATSKAYA. Vnutrennee ustroistvo zapadnopontiiskikh gorodov v epokhu iz avtonomii [internal organization of the cities of the western Pontus in the period of their autonomy]. *Ibid.*

M.-TH. SCHMITTER-PICARD. Sericarii. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

A. ERNOUT. Notes et discussions: Deux inscriptions de Véies. *Rev. philol.*, 3d ser., XXIII, fasc. 2, 1949.

ROBERT J. M. LINDSAY. Defamation and the Law under Sulla. *Class. Philol.*, Oct., 1949.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR. On the Chronology of Cicero's Letters of 56–55 B.C. *Ibid.*

JACQUES HEURGON. Salluste et le serment sacrificiel de Catiline. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pierre Grimal. La "V^e Églogue" et le culte de César. *Ibid.*

S. L. Utchenko. Uchenie Tsitserona o smeshannoi forme gosudarstvennogo ustroistva i ego klassovaia sushchnost' [Cicero's doctrine of the mixed form of constitution and its classical nature]. *Vestnik drevnei istorii,* no. 3, 1949.

J. Charbonneaux. Le grand Camée de France. *Mélanges Picard,* 1949.

C. D. Stergiopoulos. Strabon et la division administrative de la Crète. *Ibid.*

O. V. Kudravtsev. Rim, Armeniia i Parfiia vo vtoroi polovine pravleniia Nerona [Rome, Armenia and Parthia in the second half of Nero's reign]. *Vestnik drevnei istorii,* no. 3, 1949.

Hugh Last. Rome and the Druids: A Note. *Jour. Rom. Stud.,* XXXIX, 1949.

Ronald Syme. Personal Names in Annals I–VI. *Ibid.*

A. H. M. Jones. The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-Clerical Grades). *Ibid.*

R. G. Goodchild and J. B. Ward-Perkins. The *Limes Tripolitanus* in the Light of Recent Discoveries. *Ibid.*

C. D. Gordon. Subsidies in Roman Imperial Defence. *Phoenix,* Autumn, 1949.

Gilbert Bagnani. Divine Right and Roman Law. *Ibid.*

Jérôme Carcopino. Du Périple d'Hannon aux portulans grecs du XVI^e siècle. *Mélanges Picard,* 1949.

Pedro Bosch-Gimpera. La formazione dei populi della Spagna. *La Parola del Passato,* fasc. 11, 1949.

J. Jannoray. La poterie "ibérique" et l'expansion des Ibères en Gaule méridionale. *Mélanges Picard,* 1949.

Albert Colombet. Les divinités aux Oiseaux en Gaule et le Dieu aux Colombes d'Alésia. *Ibid.*

O. and J. Taffanel. L'oppidum du Cayle, commune de Mailhac (Aude). *Ibid.*

Marcel Simon. Les origines chrétiennes d'après l'oeuvre de Maurice Goguel. *Rev. hist.,* Oct., 1949.

Charles H. Buck, jr. The Collection for the Saints. *Harvard Theol. Rev.,* Jan., 1950.

Wilfrid L. Knox. Church and State in the New Testament. *Jour. Rom. Stud.,* XXXIX, 1949.

Lindsay P. Pherigo. Paul and the Corinthian Church. *Jour. Bibl. Lit.,* Dec., 1949.

Archaeological Articles

David M. Robinson. A Small Hoard of Mycenaean Vases and Statuettes. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.,* Jan., 1950.

N. M. Verdélis. Vases en bronze de Metsovo. *Bull. Corr. Hell.,* LXXIII, 1949.

H. Gallet de Santerre. Grand rhyton de pierre trouvé à Mallia. *Ibid.*

C. F. A. Schaeffer. Note sur l'enceinte mycénienne d'Enkomi (Chypre). *Mélanges Picard,* 1949.

U. Bahadir Alkim. Resultats archéologiques des fouilles de Karatepe. *Rev. Hittite et Asianique,* IX, fasc. 50, 1949.

Cleta Margaret Olmstead. A Greek Lady from Persepolis. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.,* Jan., 1950.

H. P. L'Orange. Pausania. *Mélanges Picard,* 1949.

Ch. Picard. Percées tympanales, ou niches de fronton? *Rev. archéol.,* July, 1949.

J. Marcadé. Parthénoklès d'Athènes. *Mélanges Picard,* 1949.

L. Lacroix. Copies de statues sur les monnaies des Séleucides. *Bull. Corr. Hell.,* LXXIII, 1949.

Pierre Lévêque. L'identification des combattants de la frise de Paul-Émile à Delphes. *Mélanges Picard,* 1949.

I. B. Zeest. Raskopki Kimmerika v 1947–1948 gg. [the excavations of Kimmerik in 1947–1948]. *Vestnik drevnei istorii,* no. 3, 1949.

J. Formigé. Remarques sur les dates de construction des théâtres d'Arles, d'Orange, et de Vienne. *Mélanges Picard,* 1949.

A. I. Loewenthal and D. B. Harden. Vasa Murrina. *Jour. Rom. Stud.,* XXXIX, 1949.

J. Jannoray. Las excavaciones de Ensérune y el problema de la cerámica "Ibérica." Estudio de astratografia y de cronologia. *Archiv. español arqueol.,* Jan., 1949.

Jacques Coupry. La place forte d'Olbia sur la côte provençale. *Rev. archéol.,* July, 1949.

The Editors. Roman Britain in 1948. *Jour. Rom. Stud.,* XXXIX, 1949.

Graham Webster. The Legionary Fortress at Lincoln. *Ibid.*

A. Alföldi. The Bronze Mace from Willingham Fen, Cambridgeshire. *Ibid.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INSCRIPTIONS, COINS, AND PAPYRI

M. SAN NICOLO. Materialien zur Viehwirtschaft in den neubabylonischen Tempeln: II. *Orientalia*, XVIII, fasc. 3, 1949.

HENRI SEYRIG. Double octadrachme de la Chalcidique. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

PIERRE DE LA COSTE-MESSELIÈRE. Listes amphictioniques du IV^e^ siècle. *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, LXXIII, 1949.

V. BORISOVA. Amfornye ruchki s imenami astinomov drebnogo Khersonesa [Amphora handles with names of astynomi of ancient Chersonese]. *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, no. 3, 1949.

GEORGES DAUX. Θασιακά. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

MARCEL LAUNEY. Sur une inscription ptolemaique de Méthana. *Ibid.*

PIERRE DE LA COSTE-MESSELIÈRE. L'offrande delphique des Tarentins "du bas." *Ibid.*

J. POUILLOUX. Ὁ ἐπικέφαλος ὀβολός. *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, LXXIII, 1949.

GEORGES DAUX. Inscriptions de Delphes inédites ou revues. *Ibid.*

J. MARCADÉ. Notes sur quelques bases d'Épidaure. *Ibid.*

Id. La pseudo-signature de Nikandros d'Andros a Délos. *Ibid.*

A. PLASSART. Décrets de Thespies. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

JEAN BAYET. Remarques sur quelques types italiotes du monnayage julio-claudien. *Ibid.*

C. H. ROBERTS. Titus and Alexandria: A New Document. *Jour. Rom. Stud.*, XXXIX, 1949.

ANDRÉ PIGANIOL. Note sur un fragment d'inscription arvalique. *Mélanges Picard*, 1949.

VERNE B. SCHUMAN. Three Accounting Terms of Roman Egypt. *Class. Philol.*, Oct., 1949.

Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm[1]

THREE BYZANTINE SAINTS. Contemporary Biographies translated from the Greek by *Elizabeth Dawes* and *Norman H. Baynes*. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1948, pp. xiv, 275, 21*s*.) A new book by Professor Baynes is always an important event. This time, in collaboration with Dr. Elizabeth Dawes, he presents a translation of the biographies of three saints as an illustration of the popular religion of the early Byzantine period and as an example of the importance of hagiography for historians. The first *Life*, that of St. Daniel the Stylite (409–93), written by one of his disciples, contains a number of important data concerning the reigns of Leo I (457–74) and Zeno (474–91), and depicts the form of Byzantine asceticism which led men like Daniel to spend thirty-three years and three months perched on top of a pillar column in the environs of Constantinople. The second, that of St. Theodore of Sykeon, who lived at the beginning of the seventh century, describes life in Asia Minor before the Arab invasions of the empire. From the third, which is devoted to St. John the Almsgiver, a native of Cyprus, who was patriarch of Alexandria from 610 to 619, we learn, among other things, that in the early seventh century the patriarchate of Alexandria had considerable wealth (c. 20) and even had a fleet of more than thirteen vessels (c. 28). Drawing upon his well-known bibliographical knowledge, Professor Baynes has added a number of useful explanatory notes, which, he very modestly says, "make no pretensions to learning." The authors by chance neglect to give a reference to the Greek text of the *Life of Theodore*, which is to be found only in the very rare work of Theophilou Ioannou, Μνημεῖα Ἁγιολογικά (Venice, 1884), pp. 361–495, or to the Latin version of Petrus Franciscus Zino, which appears in *Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis* 3 (Paris-Rome, 1866), pp. 32 ff. With regard to the question raised (pp. 75, 188), as to how σεμνός comes to mean "small" in Byzantine Greek, it should be noted that σεμνότης is found as early as Euripides (*Iphigenia at Aulis*, 1344) in the sense of

[1] Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"modesty," whence we can derive "modest, humble, small" as a meaning of the adjective.

MILTON V. ANASTOS, *Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University*

THE BOGOMILS: A STUDY IN BALKAN NEO-MANICHAEISM. By *Dmitri Obolensky,* Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, University Lecturer in Slavonic Studies. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1949, pp. xiv, 317, $6.50.) The last five years have been marked by an increasing interest in the history of Manichaeism. In 1945 H. C. Puech and A. Vaillant published *Le traité contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le prêtre* (Paris); in 1946 S. Runciman's *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualistic Heresy* (Cambridge) came out. Finally, in 1948, D. Obolensky published the book under review. The author was able to use the above two books when they were still in proof form. As we see from the title of the book, Obolensky's special interest lies within the history of the dualistic doctrine in the Balkans, and especially in Bulgaria. But in order to show what was the foundation of the doctrine which was widespread in Bulgaria and in the Byzantine Empire during the Middle Ages, the author turns back to the earlier East, to the Manichaean legacy, and to the so-called "neo-Manichaeism," a revived and modified Manichaeism which between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries swept over all of southern and part of central Europe. In this connection, Obolensky devotes much attention to the Paulician and Massalian sects. Turning then to the rise of Balkan dualism in the First Bulgarian Empire, he discusses the dualistic doctrine of Bogomilism, which was the outcome of the fusion of the two early dualistic heresies, Paulician and Massalian, and the new Slavonic elements in the Slavonized Bulgaria, where the original home of the sect was Macedonia. After describing the spread of Bogomilism from Macedonia to Byzantium after the fall of the Bulgarian Empire in 1018, he, in the last chapter, deals with Bogomilism in the Second Bulgarian Empire (1186–1393), where the thirteenth century witnessed a great efflorescense of this sect and the fourteenth century its decline and rapid disappearance. The book contains five appendixes: (1) The Chronology of Cosmas; (2) The *Pop* Jeremiah; (3) The date of the Bogomil trial in Constantinople; (4) Bogomilism in Russia, Serbia, Bosnia and Hum (Herzegovina); (5) Bogomils, Cathars and Patarenes. An ample bibliography, index, and map showing the spread of Bogomilism in the Balkans and Asia Minor are added to the book. The author is very well acquainted with the original sources for the medieval dualistic doctrines as well as with the results of the recent studies on the subject. A very useful book for scholars and for the general reader.

A. VASILIEV, *Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University*

SAINT AUGUSTIN, UN PÈRE DE L'ÉGLISE. By *J.-D. Burger.* (Neuchâtel, Éditions de la Baconnière à Boudry, 1948, pp. 240.) This little book is a work of *vulgarisation.* The author has attempted, and successfully on the whole, to give a sketch of the life and work of St. Augustine based on the primary sources: the writings of the great church father and the *Vita* of Possidius. The source material, in quoted or paraphrased form, is woven into a continuous and lively narrative. In this way, St. Augustine's life at each stage is organically portrayed. Such a presentation is especially valuable for a proper understanding of his career as priest and bishop. His enormous literary activity was occasioned solely by the current needs of religion and a consciousness of his own responsibilities as a Christian pastor, and each letter, sermon, or treatise must always be approached from this angle. Apart from succumbing to the eternal charm of the *Confessions,* and thus giving perhaps too much space to Augustine's life before his conversion, the author has kept a fairly good balance in his work. It should be noted, however, that very little is said about St. Augustine's teaching on the Sacraments, on

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Trinity, or on his speculative theology as such. The book indicates familiarity with the modern literature on controversial problems, but, again, the treatment of these is confined to the minimum. Under the circumstances, the author adopts a conservative attitude, *e.g.,* in dealing with St. Augustine's conversion and the historical reliability of the *Confessions.* The following critical comments are in order: Not all will agree with the statement in the first paragraph of the *avant-propos* that the *Augustinus* of Jansenius *"est resté l'exposé classique, méthodique et sûr de cet océan d'idées qu'est l'Augustinisme."* In spite of his fondness for Bruder's edition of the *Confessions* (1865), the author should have used the recent editions of Skutella or De Labriolle (p. 12). The statement that Pope Liberius subscribed to the *thèses* of Arius needs both qualification and clarification (p. 19). The canon of the Council of Toledo (400 A.D.) on concubinage likewise requires discussion and a qualified interpretation (p. 35 n. 2). The observation (p. 112 n. 1) indicates that the author is apparently unaware of the limited use of D.M. on Christian monuments, and that the presence of this formula in such cases does not necessarily imply formal adherence to any pagan belief. (See Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie,* I [Paris, 1907], cols. 166–76.) The book contains a reprint of Portaliés' chronological table of Augustine's works, but no index. Burger's *Saint Augustin* is neither so important nor so comprehensive as the recent work of G. Bardy, *Saint Augustin: l'homme et l'oeuvre* (Paris, 1940), but it is a stimulating sketch and is well worth reading.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE, *Catholic University of America*

REGESTUM INNOCENTII III PAPAE SUPER NEGOTIO ROMANI IMPERII. Edited by *Friedrich Kempf,* S.J. [Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae, Vol. XII, Collectionis n. 21.] (Rome, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1947, pp. xxix, 446, L. 2000.) The famous *Regestum Innocentii III super negotio Romani imperii* (RNI), first published by Baluze in 1682, contains the special correspondence file bearing on the difficult and important question of the succession to the German throne (1198–1209). The unexpected death of Emperor Henry VI on September 20, 1197, soon brought into sharp focus the opposing viewpoints of those favoring a hereditary monarchy (Hohenstaufen supported by the Capetians) and of those favoring the ancient feudal electoral principle (Guelfs backed by the Plantagenets). The editor of the work under review is a recognized specialist in the study of the registers of Innocent III as evidenced by his earlier excellent *Die Register Innocenz III. Eine paläographisch-diplomatische Untersuchung* (Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae, Vol. IX, Collectionis n. 18, Rome, 1945). He has also profited from the German translation (1919) of G. Tangl with its lengthy commentary, from W. M. Peitz's introduction to the facsimile edition (1928), and from the text for advanced students of W. Holtzmann (1938; 2d ed., 1947). Father Kempf's edition is based on the original manuscript, *Reg. Vat.* n. 6, of the Vatican archives and is, indeed, the first thoroughly satisfactory text published according to the rigorous standards set by present-day scholarship. Students will be grateful for the helpful introduction, copious bibliographical and critical notes showing extensive reading of available literature and orienting the reader in the present *status quaestionis,* and for the abundant cross references. Useful are the careful concordance table of letters arranged chronologically and by hands, the table to provide ready comparison with Father Peitz's facsimile edition, the alphabetical list of books frequently used and abbreviated in the footnotes, the table of Biblical passages cited, and the indexes of names and subjects. It is to be hoped that the learned editor will soon have the opportunity he wishes to treat more fully of certain unresolved difficulties which inevitably arise to plague the student of the policy of Innocent III *super negotio Romani imperii.*

GEORGE BINGHAM FOWLER, *University of Pittsburgh*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PHILOSOPHIE ET THÉOLOGIE CHEZ GUILLAUME D'OCKHAM. By *Robert Guelluy,* Professeur au Grand Séminaire de Tournai. [Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis, Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica vel in Facultate Iuris Canonici consequendum conscriptae, Series II, Tomus 39.] (Louvain, E. Nauwelaerts; Paris, J. Vrin, 1947, pp. xxiv, 384, 190 fr.) There is hardly a medieval thinker who has challenged scholarly interest in recent decades from so many points of the compass as has William of Ockham. He figures prominently in the bitter struggle within his own Franciscan order between the Conventuals and the Spirituals, he was an active polemicist for Emperor Louis of Bavaria against the Avignonese papacy, he was a political theorist of commanding originality, he looms large in the rise of the modern philosophy of science as perhaps the most fruitful thinker before Leonardo da Vinci, and his contributions to logic, metaphysics, and theology are just beginning to be appreciated. In recent years C. Michalski, P. Boehner, E. A. Moody, R. Scholz, M. Grabmann, and P. Vignaux, to name only a few, challenged by one or another area of Ockham's thought, have devoted prolonged study to his work and ideas. As a result his place in the post-Thomistic line of intellectual development has become somewhat more clear. Professor Guelluy has taken as his task an analysis of a nexus problem: how precisely did Ockham intend to define and limit the respective assumptions and interrelationships of theology and philosophy. He finds that Ockham devoted the rather long prologue to his *Commentary on the Sentences* (written prior to 1326) to this particular set of problems. Ockham obviously felt that his *Commentary* would lose meaning if he did not define his terms and his assumptions. This prologue resolves itself into a spirited and consistent attack on Duns Scotus and to a lesser degree on Thomas Aquinas, both of whom, Ockham holds, were guilty of confusion in applying logical concepts to God and His attributes which can properly only be apprehended by faith. To Ockham there must be strict correspondence between a concept and its reality, and as the knowledge by which logical concepts are appropriated differ in kind from our knowledge of God, attained by faith, any strictly logical construction of theology is necessarily invalid. Theology by its very nature cannot be scientific and any effort to make it so is doomed to failure. Our *scientia* must be based on direct and separate perceptions of realities (*res*). We do not have direct knowledge of theological doctrines. The *habitus* of our intellect does not comprehend faith, and faith and scientific evidence are incompatible. This is no attack on the truthfulness of the content of faith. On the contrary, Ockham insists he is vindicating the Christian faith and God's omnipotence by untangling the confusion into which St. Thomas and Duns Scotus had fallen. This argument is in line with his well-known principle of economy in predication, from which his emphasis on the unity and adequacy of the singular and the superfluity of the universal concept easily flows. Guelluy's study is faithful to his announced method, but it is far from crisp. It would have profited from severe abridgment. In many places where Ockham is crystal clear, at least to those conversant with scholastic terminology, our author has been so laboriously anxious to make the argument clearer that the reader must return to the text of Ockham in order to follow the argument. S. HARRISON THOMSON, *University of Colorado*

FRA ÆTTESAMFUNN TIL STATSSAMFUNN. By *Arne Odd Johnsen.* (Oslo, Aschehoug, 1948, pp. 385.) *From Clan Society to Political Community* surveys the clash in Norway between paganism and Christianity from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. Attention is concentrated, however, on the years 1150 to 1200, a period to which the author previously has devoted several special studies. Paganism, as here portrayed, in the twelfth century yielded sector after sector before the drive and momentum of the expanding church. Thread after thread in the web of the pagan

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clan collectivism was weakened and disintegrated, releasing the individual person for membership in the expanding universal church and in the emerging political state. Thus, the insistence on burial in consecrated ground weakened the family hearth and ancestor worship; restriction of polygamy and concubinage lessened the clan's economic cohesion; abolition of slavery wore down its labor force; growing use of the tithe undermined its "social security" arrangements; insistence on confession and penance disrupted its corporate character; proscriptions against feuding and blood revenge practices and enforcement of the Truce of God reduced its military importance. On several points students of northern history will want to test the argument of the author; especially, his estimate of the aristocratic character of the old pagan society; his reinterpretation of the twelfth century civil wars; his assumption that King Sverre, uniformly the darling of Norwegian historians, was not so much defending national interests of the future as he was fighting mainly a rearguard action on behalf of the old order; his contention that the church, far from being inimical to the national interests of Norway, was in this period the main bearer of culture to the country. Whether Scandinavian colleagues will accept the author's generous estimate of the role of the church may be a question; the indigenous tradition, pagan and early Christian, may deserve more emphasis than here is left to it. So too the general interpretation of the clash between paganism and Christianity may strike those colleagues as less novel in tone than the author seems to anticipate (pp. 10–14). Though much ecclesiastical history is involved, the spirit of the inquiry is essentially secular and objective (there is considerable use of sociological terminology) and is uniformly free of the apologetic clerical note which mars some work on this period. Norwegian historiography is here confronted with a fresh and comprehensive formulation of one of its central problems. OSCAR J. FALNES, *New York University*

THE TREE OF BATTLES OF HONORÉ BONET, WITH A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED HISTORICAL INTERPOLATION. An English Version with Introduction by *G. S. Coopland,* Emeritus Professor in the University of Liverpool. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1949, pp. 316, $6.00.) Honoré Bonet's *L'Arbre des Batailles* occupies an important place in the history of the development of international law. For this work, which Bonet dedicated to King Charles VI of France in 1387, is one of the earliest treatises dealing specifically with the law of war. The book enjoyed great popularity throughout the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries as is shown by the numerous manuscripts still extant and by the six printed editions which appeared between 1477 and 1517. It was translated into Provençal, Catalan, Castilian, and even English (by the Scotsman Gilbert of the Haye in 1456, edited for the Scottish Text Society by J. H. Stevenson in 1901). Later generations paid hardly any attention to Bonet. Hugo Grotius, for example, does not include Bonet in the list of men who had written before himself "special books on the law of war." Thus, Bonet was rediscovered only by Ernest Nys, who, in 1883, published the text of *L'Arbre des Batailles* as "the earliest monument of international law." In view of the importance of Bonet's treatise, Professor Coopland has done scholarship a great service by rendering the difficult and occasionally rather obscure text into a modern English version that is both faithful and very readable. But perhaps even more valuable than the translation is the introduction in which Professor Coopland summarizes the results of his very careful examination of the sources of Bonet's *Tree of Battles.* For he proves convincingly that by far "the larger part of his legal material, his array of authorities, his erudition are derived from one source" (p. 66), *i.e.,* from Giovanni da Legnano's *Tractatus de Bello, de Represaliis et de Duello,* which was written in 1360. Nys and, following him, other scholars ignored Bonet's close dependency on one

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

source and consequently attributed to him more originality of thought, greater knowledge, and better scholarship than he actually possessed. As a matter of fact, through a comparison with Giovanni's text Professor Coopland shows that Bonet's organization is often confused, unsystematic and discursive. But in spite of these faults Bonet's book has, as Professor Coopland rightly points out, "its distinctive features" (p. 66). It is characterized by a truly Christian and humanitarian spirit and by a good comprehension of everyday affairs, and these qualities enabled its author to expound the frequently very abstract theories of the legists in a form sufficiently concrete to be understood by the ordinary layman of the age. The popularity of the work was certainly increased by the fact that Bonet saw and presented the problems of his own time within the framework of universal history. Although in this respect, too, Bonet was not original but depended basically on the works of others, like Martin of Troppau and Tolomeo of Lucca, his strong sense of loyalty to the French king and his persistent emphasis on the complete independence of the kingdom of France are indications of the emergence of sentiments characteristic of a new era. The merits, then, of Bonet's curious *Tree of Battles* cannot be more fairly assessed than Professor Coopland does in the conclusion of his excellent introduction: "Its chief value for the historian will be as a view of one of the crucial ages of history seen through the medium of a mind, not of the highest calibre, which by its limitation makes that view clearer."

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN, *Princeton University*

GENERAL AND POLITICAL

J. LAMBERT. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. *Scriptorium,* III, fasc. 1, 1949.

Id. Les publications belges relatives aux manuscrits, 1946–47 [part II]. *Ibid.*

B. J. WHITING. Historical Novels (1948–49). *Speculum,* Jan., 1950.

FRANÇOIS L. GANSHOF. Charlemagne. *Ibid.,* Oct., 1949.

P. GORISSEN. Encore la clause ardennaise du traité de Meersen. *Moyen âge,* nos. 1–2, 1949.

SHEPPARD FRERE. Canterbury Excavations, 1944–48. *Antiquity,* Sept., 1949.

MARJORIE OGILVIE ANDERSON. The List of the [Early Scottish] Kings. *Scottish Hist. Rev.,* Oct., 1949.

AUBREY GWYNN. Henry of London, Archbishop of Dublin: A Study in Anglo-Norman Statecraft. *Studies,* Sept., 1949.

DOROTHY M. WILLIAMSON. Some Aspects of the Legation of Cardinal Otto in England, 1237–41. *Eng. Hist. Rev.,* Apr., 1949.

B. WILKINSON. The "Political Revolution" of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in England. *Speculum,* Oct., 1949.

H. MOREL. Jean de Labarthe et la maison d'Armagnac, un épisode de la concentration féodale au XIV^e siècle. *Ann. du midi,* fasc. 3, 1949.

A.-M. BONENFANT-FEYTMANS. Note sur l'organisation de la secrétairie de la ville de Bruxelles au XIV^e siècle. *Moyen âge,* nos. 1–2, 1949.

CECILIA M. ADY. The Archivio Bentivoglio at Ferrara. *Eng. Hist. Rev.,* July, 1949.

ECONOMIC AND LEGAL

ALFRED R. BELLINGER. The Text of Gaius' *Institutes* and Justinian's *Corpus. Am. Jour. Philol.,* Oct., 1949.

STEPHAN KUTTNER. The Scientific Investigation of Mediaeval Canon Law: The Need and the Opportunity. *Speculum,* Oct., 1949.

VERNAM HULL. *Cert Rig Caisil:* The Right of the King of Cashel. *Med. Stud.,* IX, 1949.

PH. WOLFF. List of Books and Articles on Medieval Economic History published in France, 1944–47. *Ec. Hist. Rev.,* 2d ser., I, no. 1, 1948.

HEINRICH FEURSTEIN. Zur ältesten Missions- und Patroziniumskunde im alemannischen Raum. Ihre Wechselwirkung zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Rechtssymbolik. *Zeitschr. für die Gesch. des Oberrheins,* Heft 1, 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

R. Lennard. The Destruction of Woodland in the Eastern Counties, 1066–1086. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, 2d ser., I, nos. 2–3, 1949.

H. P. R. Finberg. The Open Field in Devonshire. *Antiquity*, Dec., 1949.

Ralph E. Turner. Economic Discontent in Medieval Western Europe. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Supp. VIII, 1948.

Robert S. Hoyt. Royal Taxation and the Growth of the Realm in Mediaeval England. *Speculum*, Jan., 1950.

Naomi D. Hurnard. The Anglo-Norman Franchises. I. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1949.

Ch. Higounet. Un mémoire sur les péages de la Garonne au début du XIVe siècle. *Ann. du midi*, fasc. 3, 1949.

M. Rey. Les finances domaniales en Dauphiné d'après les comptes des trésoriers généraux, à la fin du XIVe siècle et pendant les premières années du XVe siècle. *Moyen âge*, nos. 1–2, 1949.

Edouard Perroy. A l'origine d'une économie contractée: les crises du XIVe siècle. *Annales*, Apr.–June, 1949.

M. Luzzatto. Contributo alla storia della mezzadria nel Medio Evo. *Nuova riv. stor.*, June–July, 1948.

Marg. Boulet. Survivances et transformations d'une seigneurie médiévale au début du XVIe siècle. *Moyen âge*, nos. 1–2, 1949.

Byzantine and Muslim

M. Monica Wagner. A Chapter in Byzantine Epistolography: The Letters of St. Theodoret of Cyrus. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, IV, 1948.

Peter Charanis. The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire. *Ibid.*

A. A. Vasiliev. The Monument of Porphyrius in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. *Ibid.*

Id. Imperial Porphyry Sarcophagi in Constantinople. *Ibid.*

Milton V. Anastos. Pletho's Calendar and Liturgy. *Ibid.*

H. A. R. Gibb. The Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin. *Speculum*, Jan., 1950.

Ecclesiastical and Theological

Etienne Gilson. Doctrinal History and Its Interpretation. *Speculum*, Oct., 1949.

E. Griffe. Le christianisme en face de l'État Romain. *Bull. de litt. ecclés.*, July, 1949.

John H. Taylor. The Text of Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram*. *Speculum*, Jan., 1950.

William M. Green. *Initium omnis peccati superbia:* Augustine on Pride as the First Sin. *Univ. California Pub. in Class. Philol.*, XIII, no. 13.

L. C. Mohlberg. Eine unbekannte Augustinus Handschrift in der Zentralbibliothek zu Zürich. *Riv. di archeol. cristiana*, nos. 1–4, 1947–48.

Meredith F. Eller. The *Retractiones* of Saint Augustine. *Church Hist.*, Sept., 1949.

Fulbert Cayré. Le docteur des deux cités. *Rev. de l'Univ. d'Ottawa*, July–Sept., 1949.

D. F. Vandenbroucke. Saint Benoit, le Maître et Cassiodore. *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, July, 1949.

Martin Grabman. Die Theologie der Frühscholastik im Lichte der Handschriftenforschung. *Theologische Rev.*, no. 2, 1949.

B. Smalley. William of Middleton and Guibert of Nogent. *Recherches de théol. anc. et méd.*, July, 1949.

Fr. Olivier-Martin. Les institutions de l'ordre cistercien. *Jour. des savants*, July–Dec., 1948.

N. M. Haring. Peter Cantor's View on Ecclesiastical Excommunication and Its Practical Consequences. *Med. Stud.*, IX, 1949.

J. N. Garvin. Peter of Poitiers and Simon of Tournai on the Trinity. *Recherches de théol. anc. et méd.*, July, 1949.

D. O. Lottin. Saint Thomas d'Aquin à la faculté des arts de Paris aux approches de 1277. *Ibid.*

A. Artonne. Les statuts synodaux anglais du XIIIe siècle. *Jour. des savants*, July–Dec., 1948.

Ignatius Brady. The *Liber de Anima* of William of Vaurouillon, O.F.M. Book Three [Latin text]. *Med. Stud.*, IX, 1949.

V. F. M. Garlick. The Provision of Vicars in the Early Fourteenth Century. *History*, Feb.–June, 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

André Bossuat. Une relation inédite de l'ambassade française au pape Benoit XIII en 1407. *Moyen âge*, nos. 1–2, 1949.

R. P. Casey. Monastics and Seculars under Yaroslav the Wise. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, July, 1949.

Hagiographical

Baudouin de Gaiffier. Les sources de la vie de S. Cassien, évêque d'Autun. *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXVI, 1948 (pub. 1949).

Id. S. Saturnin de Toulouse venait-il d'Orient? *Ibid.*

Maurice Coens. Une fiction d'origine rhénane: S. Suibert, évêque-martyr de Bethléem. *Ibid.*

Raymond J. Loenertz. Un prétendu sanctuaire romain de S. Denys de Paris. *Ibid.*

Paul Peeters. Jacques de Saroug appartient-il à la secte monophysite? *Ibid.*

Paul Grosjean. Trois pièces sur S. Senán. *Ibid.*

Paul Devos. Le Miracle posthume de S. Thomas l'Apôtre. *Ibid.*

François Halkin. Hellenica 1939–1948. Contributions grecques aux études hagiographiques. *Ibid.*

Id. Bulletin d'hagiographie italo-grecque. *Ibid.*

Baudouin de Gaiffier. Hagiographie hispanique. *Ibid.*

Medieval and Renaissance Learning

Lynn Thorndike. Mediaeval Interest in Intellectual History. *Speculum*, Jan., 1950.

E. J. McCorkell. Humanism and the Middle Ages. *Ibid.*, Oct., 1949.

Francis P. Magoun, jr. King Alfred's Letter on Educational Policy according to the Cambridge Manuscripts. *Med. Stud.*, IX, 1949.

H. Silvestre. Une copie de la scolie de Gerbert à l'Arithmétique de Boèce. *Scriptorium*, III, fasc. 1, 1949.

A. L. Gabriel. English Masters and Students in Paris during the XIIth Century. *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, XXV, fasc. 1–2, 1949.

Charles S. Singleton. Dante and Myth. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Oct., 1949.

Id. Dante's Allegory. *Speculum*, Jan., 1950.

F. Lyna. Un livre sur le maître de Marie de Bourgogne. *Scriptorium*, III, fasc. 1, 1949.

Ph. Delhaye. Une adaptation du *De officiis* au XII^e siècle: le *Moralium dogma philosophorum*. *Recherches de theol. anc. et méd.*, July, 1949.

J. Owens. The Doctrine of Being in the Aristotelian Metaphysics: A Study in the Greek Background of Mediaeval Thought. *Med. Stud.*, IX, 1949.

Raphael Levy. Rashi's Description of Medieval Realia. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, Oct., 1949.

Armand Maurer. *Ms* Cambrai 486: Another Redaction of the *Metaphysics* of Siger de Brabant? *Med. Stud.*, IX, 1949.

Philippe Delhaye. L'Enseignement de la philosophie morale au XII^e siècle. *Ibid.*

Beraud de Saint Maurice. Existential Import in the Philosophy of Duns Scotus. *Franciscan Stud.*, Sept., 1949.

Lynn Thorndike. Concerning John Canonicus. *Isis*, Nov., 1949.

A. Vernet. Notice et extraits d'un manuscrit d'Edimbourg (Adv. Mss. 18.6.12, 18.7.8, 18.7.7). *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, CVII, no. 1, 1947–48.

A. Cordoliani. Un manuscrit de comput et d'astronomie des XII-XIV^e siècles: le ms 467 de l'Université de Glasgow. *Scriptorium*, III, fasc. 1, 1949.

S. Harrison Thomson. Learning at the Court of Charles IV. *Speculum*, Jan., 1950.

Hashagen. Spannungen in der Frauenkultur auf der Höhe des Mittelalters. *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Heft 1, 1949.

Henry S. Lucas. The Renaissance: A Review of Some Views. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1950.

Anton-Hermann Chroust and James A. Corbett. The Fifteenth Century *Review of Politics* of Laurentius of Arezzo. *Med. Stud.*, IX, 1949.

Frederick W. Meisnest. The Lost Book of Privileges of Columbus Located and Identified. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, Aug., 1949.

Irving Ribner. Machiavelli and Sidney's *Discourse to the Queenes Majesty*. *Italica*, Sept., 1949.

George Sarton. Incunabula Wrongly Dated. *Isis*, Aug., 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

O. S. ARNGART. On Some Readings in the *Proverbs of Alfred*. *Eng. Stud.*, Oct., 1949.

URBAN T. HOLMES, JR. The Arthurian Tradition in Lambert d'Ardres. *Speculum*, Jan., 1950.

CHARLES A. KNUDSON. The Publication of Old French Texts: Some Comments and Suggestions. *Ibid.*, Oct., 1949.

ALEX. J. DENOMY. *Jovens:* The Notion of Youth among the Troubadours, Its Meaning and Source: *Med. Stud.*, IX, 1949.

ARTHUR HATTO. Walther von der Vogelweide's Ottonian Poems: A New Interpretation. *Speculum*, Oct., 1949.

JOHN H. FISHER. Continental Associations for the *Ancrene Riwle*. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Dec., 1949.

HELEN ADOLF. The Ass and the Harp. *Speculum*, Jan., 1950.

ROBERT T. MEYER. The Sources of the Middle Irish Alexander. *Mod. Philol.*, Aug., 1949.

ROBERT ARMSTRONG PRATT. Geoffrey Chaucer, Esq., and Sir John Hawkwood. *E L H*, Sept., 1949.

GEORGE B. PARKS. The Route of Chaucer's First Journey to Italy. *Ibid.*

B. J. WHITING. Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings from Scottish Writings before 1600. Part I, A-L. *Med. Stud.*, IX, 1949.

ART AND MUSIC

L. BRÉHIER. Le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien. *Jour. des savants*, July–Dec., 1948.

EDGAR B. FRANK. Small Gothic Ironwork. *Speculum*, Oct., 1949.

JAMES S. ACKERMANN. *Ars sine scientia nihil est*. Gothic Theory of Architecture at the Cathedral of Milan. *Art Bull.*, June, 1949.

HUMPHREY PAKINGTON. The Gothic Legacy [Worcester Cathedral]. *Church Quar. Rev.*, Oct.–Dec., 1949.

A. BOUTEMY. Un trésor injustement oublié: les manuscrits enluminés du nord de la France (période pré-gothique). *Scriptorium*, III, fasc. 1, 1949.

P. D. PARTNER. Studies in Genius, IX: Leonardo da Vinci. *Horizon*, Oct., 1949.

KATE TRAUMAN STEINITZ. A Reconstruction of Leonardo da Vinci's Revolving Stage. *Art Quar.*, Autumn, 1949.

GÜNTHER NEUFELD. Leonardo da Vinci's *Battle of Anghiari:* A Genetic Reconstruction. *Art Bull.* Sept., 1949.

HANS TISCHLER. New Historical Aspects of the Parisian *Organa*. *Speculum*, Jan., 1950.

G. FENWICK JONES. Wittenwiler's *Becki* and the Medieval Bagpipe. *Jour. Eng. and Germanic Philol.*, Apr., 1949.

Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Leland H. Carlson[1]

THE ADMONITION CONTROVERSY. By *Donald Joseph McGinn*. (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1949, pp. xii, 589, $6.50.) In Part I of this valuable study the author and editor has given a well-written account of the admonition controversy; in Part II, an abridgment of the first and second admonitions, the two answers of Anglican John Whitgift, and the three replies of arch-Puritan Thomas Cartwright. In 1572 the Puritan faction was responsible for the anonymous pamphlet, *An Admonition to the Parliament*, the first direct attack on the Church of England. This

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to Thomas Bushell and John Norris for their assistance in the preparation of the bibliography of articles during my residence in England. L.H.C.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

publication resulted in a "literary duel" between John Whitgift, at this time master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and later archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Cartwright. The latter sought to replace the Anglican hierarchy with a presbytery of pastor, doctor or teacher, ruling elders, and deacons in each congregation. Over these local presbyteries a series of synods would be erected. Ministers were to be chosen by the congregation. Civil magistrates were to be subservient to the church. The admonition controversy was short-lived, and the Anglican hierarchy survived. Cartwright's ideas about church and state spread throughout England, however, and to Ireland, Scotland, Holland, and New England. With the meeting of the Long Parliament, both hierarchy and monarchy in England disappeared for a time. Although Cartwright's name has not been associated with New England, after reading these excerpts this reviewer can see the great influence that his writings had on that region. Freed from the hierarchy they hated, the New England Puritans established churches, each with its pastor, teacher where necessary, ruling elders, and deacons, in every settlement. John Cotton, teacher of the church at Boston in Massachusetts Bay, went even further and in "Moses his judicials," a proposed code of laws for the Bay Colony, attempted to apply Cartwright's ideas to civil government. Students of Puritanism are indebted to Dr. McGinn for isolating the admonition controversy, the beginning of the Puritan movement, from the mass of writings on religious issues in sixteenth century England. ISABEL M. CALDER, *Wells College*

THE LIFE AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF JAMES BRYDGES, FIRST DUKE OF CHANDOS, PATRON OF THE LIBERAL ARTS. By *C. H. Collins Baker* and *Muriel I. Baker*. (New York, Oxford University Press in co-operation with Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., 1949, pp. xix, 493.) The Huntington Library has a large collection of manuscripts relating to the personal and family affairs of the first duke of Chandos, a relatively minor, yet interesting, figure in English history. This collection is the chief source for the book under review. What emerges from this lengthy and detailed study is hardly a clear picture of the duke himself or even a consecutive record of his life. The arrangement of material, which is partly topical and partly chronological, may be responsible as perhaps it explains also some unnecessary repetitions. Nor is this study a full biography of Chandos. As the authors say, it is "focused not on the public but the private and domestic life of its subject." We do get a very good idea of what is to be found in the Stowe (Chandos) MSS. in the Huntington Library, and the book should have considerable value for students of English social history and considerable interest for those concerned with the literary and artistic aspects of the period. We learn much about the life of a wealthy nobleman in that day. The daily journal, which Chandos, then Mr. Brydges, kept from 1697 to 1702, supplements what we already know about the tribulations of the seeker after preferment. He ultimately secured an appointment as paymaster general of the forces abroad. In this office, which he held from 1705 to 1713, he made a substantial fortune, part of which he lost in such speculations as the South Sea Company, real estate ventures in London, Bath, and elsewhere, a soap works and a glass factory, and much of which he spent on the renovation and enlarging of Cannons, his palace near Edgware. To the story of Cannons, which survived the duke by only a few years, the authors devote four chapters, well over a fifth of the book, including a final chapter on its history after the death of Chandos in 1744. Cannons was reputedly the "Timon's Villa" satirized by Pope. Chandos' activities as a buyer of books, paintings, and *objets d'art* and as a patron of music are described in some detail. So far as one can judge without having studied the manuscripts, this book is a work of painstaking scholarship. It ought to be said, though, that some of the material incorporated in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

text might, in the interests of clarity and smoothness, have been relegated to footnotes or an appendix. CATHERINE STRATEMAN SIMS, *Agnes Scott College*

THE JACOBITE MOVEMENT: THE FIRST PHASE, 1688–1716. By Sir *Charles Petrie,* Bt., Corresponding Member of the Royal Spanish Academy of History. (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode; New York, Macmillan, 1948, 1949, pp. 240. $3.50.) The merits of this book are its wide breadth and its vivid style. It devotes two chapters to the years from 1660 to 1688, which show the state of parties when Jacobitism was born, four to the reigns of William and Mary and of Anne, and three to the rising in 1715 and its aftermath. The subject matter is often well chosen and the character sketches of the individuals concerned are usually well drawn. In short this book will satisfy the reader who is curious to know how Jacobitism started and why it survived so long, but it cannot be regarded as authoritative. Except for some newspapers cited for the Fifteen, original sources are rarely mentioned. Although the weaknesses of James II and the titular James III and of their cause are pointed out with candor, enough attention is not given to the opponents' case. A curious example occurs on page 1, where Disraeli's *Sybil* is quoted to prove that parliamentary patriotism saved the rich from paying ship money and left the poor mainly to pay customs and excise. Surely impartiality required notice of two facts: that James I had much increased the custom dues without parliamentary sanction and that ship money was opposed when it seemed likely to become a permanent part of unparliamentary revenue. There are many erroneous statements about important facts—that James increased the standing army in order to offset the Whig magnates' control of the militia (really in Tory hands), that the Whigs invited William of Orange to England, whereas the invitation was also signed by Tories, and that the Ulstermen who fought against James in Ireland were the spiritual descendants of the Ironsides, though they were descended from Scotch Presbyterians who, in the next generation, had opposed the Ironsides (pp. 60, 67, 96). The account of the siege of Londonderry is indeed a revision, because one gathers that the better equipped and larger force allowed itself to be invested for three months through lack of enterprise. In the appendix are printed extracts from the instructions James II drew up for his son in 1692. But there are passages omitted which, had they been included, would have shown how circumscribed James's view of toleration was. One refers to Scotland and states that the government should be in the hands of the ancient, loyal families that had no taint of Presbyterianism, thereby excluding the majority of Scots. In England the small Roman Catholic minority was to provide half the chief offices of state, and to provide as many "as can be in the army." GODFREY DAVIES, *Huntington Library*

THE ADMIRABLE LADY MARY: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU (1689–1762). By *Lewis Gibbs.* (New York, William Morrow, 1949, pp. vii, 255, $4.00.) Mr. Joseph Cove, writing under the pseudonym of Lewis Gibbs, makes no pretense to research in the original correspondence and other writings of Lady Mary Montagu and her husband, if one excepts the recently uncovered manuscript of the 1763 edition of the Embassy Letters, now in the Hampstead Library, England. On the other hand, Mr. Cove has used the printed editions of Lady Mary's works, as well as those of various contemporaries, with conscientious care and sympathetic insight. As Mr. Cove possesses a facile pen, the result is a delightful narrative, in short compass, of one of the most intriguing figures of literary history. Throughout the book enough of the social and political background appears to give the chief character an authentic setting. The author gives no definitive answers to such questions as why Lady Mary quarreled with Pope or why she went into long

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exile on the Continent, but his suggestions are reasonable and well supported. Readers may be stimulated to study the letters and interpret Lady Mary for themselves. If they do, some will surely conclude that Mr. Cove was too kind; others will insist that he was too severe. Lady Mary herself would probably have said that he was just. According to Mr. Cove, justice demanded, for one thing, that the seemingly reluctant husband, Edward Wortley Montagu, should be drawn out of the wings to share the stage with his more famous wife. There are also unanswered questions in the career of this gentleman who asked for political oblivion by opposing Walpole. For example, how did it happen, under the circumstances, that Montagu was appointed ambassador to Turkey? The new interest in the husband is important chiefly because it places in better perspective the affairs of Lady Mary. The main interest remains with the woman who is still the unexplained, and possibly the unexplainable, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. DORA MAE CLARK, *Wilson College*

THE LAGAN VALLEY, 1800–1850: A LOCAL HISTORY OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. By *E. R. R. Green.* (London, Faber and Faber, 1949, pp. 188, 16*s.*) The Lagan Valley includes much of Ulster, ends at Belfast, and is the home of the Irish linen industry. English and Scots colonists developed its agriculture during the seventeenth century and its fine linen-making in the eighteenth, the latter with the aid of Huguenots who came from France via the Dutch linen centers. They evolved a characteristic pattern of small family farms and firms, and sold their fabrics, as they did their farm produce, in weekly open markets. The draper or bleacher who bought the raw cloth carried it through the necessary finishing processes, developed some putting out contacts, and increasingly by-passed Dublin as a market in favor of the more liberal credit facilities offered by Liverpool. In the late eighteenth century protection and bounties induced some entrepreneurs to introduce cotton spinning to Belfast, thus drawing population into the town and acquainting workers with power-driven machines; but when Union in 1801 removed the protection the cotton ventures could not compete with British rivals, and emphasis was shifted to the machines that were now being developed for spinning flax. As such machines were not reliable until after 1825, the Industrial Revolution came late to linen, and in 1850 was far from complete even in spinning. Weaving remained almost entirely a handloom job. For this reason it is a pity Mr. Green fixed his terminus at mid-century. In the textile story, as in such other matters as the effect of famine and fever, he breaks off abruptly and leaves us with an unfinished story. There are some interesting items in the volume, such as the description of the "domestic system," of labor payments for rented land, of the rise of capitalistic bleachers and drapers, and of the Huguenots. But there are dull stretches, especially those dealing with individual firms and with agriculture. The book, though based on a prize essay, would have benefited by more drastic revision; and it is hard to believe that no private business records have survived for the period and region. HERBERT HEATON, *University of Minnesota*

COPY-BOOK OF LETTERS OUTWARD &C: BEGINS 29TH MAY, 1680, ENDS 5 JULY, 1687. Edited by *E. E. Rich,* Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. Assisted by *A. M. Johnson,* Assistant Archivist, Hudson's Bay Company. With an Introduction by *E. G. R. Taylor,* Emeritus Professor of Geography, University of London. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, XI.] (Toronto, the Society, 1948, pp. xli, 415.) Readers who are following closely this series of publications of the Champlain Society will recall that Volumes VIII and IX contained the minutes of the administrative committee of the Hudson's Bay Company for the years from 1679 to 1684. The present volume is devoted to the publication of let-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ters which the company sent out to give effect to decisions arrived at by the committee during the same period and also in subsequent years down to 1694. It will be noticed that the scope of the contents is wider than that indicated in the title. The subject matter of the letters printed here is of a dual nature. Much of it is concerned mainly with the company's business: securing and preserving a suitable personnel; maintaining maritime connections with the shores of Hudson Bay; establishing and operating trading posts; and dealing with the Indians. On the other hand, not a little space is devoted to political affairs. There were troublous times for a fur company attempting to enforce a trade monopoly in northern North America; and French rivalry and hostile action forced the committee to approach the British government frequently for diplomatic or military assistance. A novel feature of this publication is the inclusion of five maps, all dating from the seventeenth century, to illustrate the introduction. This addition is justified by the importance of Professor Taylor's argument, based largely on contemporary cartographical evidence, of current ignorance in Europe of the geography of the bay region. Other valuable aids provided by the editors are two appendixes containing historical accounts, the one of trading posts, the other of characters figuring prominently in the text. The standard of editing is the high one characteristic of the series. JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT, *Queens College, New York*

WARREN HASTINGS AND BRITISH INDIA. By *Penderel Moon,* Sometime Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York, Macmillan, 1949, pp. ix, 361, $2.00.) Mr. Penderel Moon brings to his *Warren Hastings* the same warmth of touch and felicities of style which made his *Strangers in India* so moving and so apposite a book for young students confronting Indian problems for the first time. This is not a life of Hastings. It is an interpretation of the salient episodes in Hastings' career by a former civil servant in India, who naturally feels that his own experiences coupled with historical imagination enable him to come closer to Hastings than is possible for the cloistered scholar. As befits the series to which it belongs, the book is without notes and the apparatus of scholarship, but it is a scholarly work, nevertheless, based upon thorough familiarity with the sources. Quite aware of the attention paid to the impeachment, the Rohilla War, the Begums, and Chait Singh in the standard biographies, Mr. Moon has preferred to stress Hastings' achievements as an administrator and to confine himself to brief, though extremely lucid, accounts of the incidents publicized by Hastings' enemies. The story of Hastings' struggle against the hostile majority in his council is especially well told. Until more convincing evidence to the contrary than is here brought forward is presented, this reviewer can only reaffirm the statement on page 46 of his *Henry Dundas* that the charge that Dundas jealously desired to see Hastings dragged through the mire of impeachment has yet to be proved. HOLDEN FURBER, *University of Pennsylvania*

ARTICLES

PAOLO ALATRI. Lord Acton e il suo cattolicesimo liberale [cont.]. *Belfagor,* Jan., 1949.

V. R. ALLDIS. Australian Drought Cycles. *Australian Quar.,* Sept., 1949.

F. H. AMPHLETT NICKLEWRIGHT. Dr. John Gordon: An Eighteenth Century Convert to Rome. *Notes and Queries,* CXCIV, nos. 18–19.

A. ASPINALL. The Rupture of the Orange Marriage Negotiations, 1814. *History,* Feb.–June, 1949.

C. T. ATKINSON. Fontenoy and Other Letters from the MSS of the Earl of Harrowby. *Jour. Soc. for Army Hist. Research,* Winter, 1949.

E. A. B. BARNARD. Clergy around Cambridge in 1786. *Notes and Queries,* CXCIV, no. 24.

MICHAEL BARRINGTON. Heraldry the Handmaid of History. *Ibid.*

Id. "Historic Doubts" concerning Perkin Warbeck. *Ibid.,* no. 11.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JOHN E. BAUR. English Protestant Attempts at Reunion, 1689–1710. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church,* Dec., 1949.

SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYGA. History of the Introduction of Permanent Settlement in Bengal. *Calcutta Rev.,* May, 1949.

EDWARD A. BLOOM. Johnson on a Free Press: A Study in Liberty and Subordination. *E L H,* Dec., 1949.

R. A. BUTLER. The Bigwin Conference. *Internat. Affairs,* Jan., 1950.

H. BUTTERFIELD. Charles James Fox and the Whig Opposition in 1792. *Cambridge Hist. Jour.,* IX, no. 3, 1949.

SCHUYLER CAMMANN. The Panchen Lama's Visit to China in 1780: An Episode in Anglo-Tibetan Relations. *Far Eastern Quar.,* Nov., 1949.

W. A. CAMPBELL STEWART. The Staffing of Friends' Schools in England during the Nineteenth Century. *Jour. Friends' Hist. Soc.,* XLI, no. 2, 1949.

R. CANDLISH-HENDERSON. Trusts in Scottish Law. *Jour. Comparative Legislation and Internat. Law,* 3d Ser., XXXI, Parts III–IV.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI. The Case of Mr. J. S. Buckingham, the Editor of "Calcutta Journal." *Jour. Indian Hist.,* Aug., 1949.

J. G. D. CLARK. Report on Excavations on the Cambridgeshire Car Dyke, 1947. *Antiquaries Jour.,* July–Oct., 1949.

GLADYS DICKINSON. Some Notes on the Scottish Army in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century. *Scottish Hist. Rev.,* Oct., 1949.

C. W. DURET AUBIN. Enemy Legislation and Judgments in Jersey. *Jour. Comparative Legislation and Internat. Law,* 3d Ser., XXXI, Parts III–IV.

PARESHCHANDIA DASGAPTA. Some Notes on the Early Trade between Bengal and Burma. *Calcutta Rev.,* Apr., 1949.

EDGAR PACKARD DEAN. How Canada Has Voted: 1867–1945. *Can. Hist. Rev.,* Sept., 1949.

M. H. DODDS. Post-Reformation Churchyard Monuments. *Notes and Queries,* CXCIV, no. 23.

JOHN EHRMAN. William III and the Emergence of a Mediterranean Naval Policy, 1692–4. *Cambridge Hist. Jour.,* IX, no. 3, 1949.

G. R. ELTON. Two Unpublished Letters of Thomas Cromwell. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research,* May, 1949.

F. G. EMMISON. Local Archives of Great Britain: II. The Essex Record Office. *Archives,* Michaelmas, 1949.

GRAHAME FARR. The *Great Britain. Mariner's Mirror,* Jan., 1950.

H. P. R. FINBERG. The Open Field in Devonshire. *Antiquity,* Dec., 1949.

CYRIL T. FLOWER. Local Archives: The Work of the Master of the Rolls' Committee. *Archives,* Michaelmas, 1949.

BLAIR FRASER. Labor and the Church in Quebec. *For. Affairs,* Jan., 1950.

J. F. C. FULLER. The Boer War of 1899–1902. *New English Rev. Mag.,* Oct., 1949.

VITTORIO GABRIELI. Radicali inglesi del Seicento: I Levellers. *Riv. stor. ital.,* June, 1949.

JOHN S. GALBRAITH. The Hudson's Bay Company under Fire, 1847–62. *Can. Hist. Rev.,* Dec., 1949.

Id. The Hudson's Bay Land Controversy, 1863–1869. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* Dec., 1949.

H. W. GARROD. Erasmus and His English Patrons. *Library,* June, 1949.

H. Q. GLENNY. Notes on the History of Miya. *African Affairs,* Oct., 1949.

JOYCE GODBER. Local Archives of Great Britain: I. The County Record Office at Bedford. *Archives,* Lady Day, 1949.

Graduate Theses in Canadian History and Related Subjects. *Can. Hist. Rev.,* Sept., 1949.

GERALD S. GRAHAM. Considerations on the War of American Independence. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research,* May, 1949.

R. W. GREAVES. The Jerusalem Bishopric, 1841. *Eng. Hist. Rev.,* July, 1949.

OSGOOD HARDY. Los Interes Salitreros Ingleses y la Revolución de 1891. *Revista Chilena de Hist. y Geog.,* Jan.–June, 1949.

F. BROMPTON HARVEY. The Methodist Marseillaise. *London Quar. and Holborn Rev.,* Jan., 1950.

NIGEL HARVEY. The Coming of the Swede [Rutabaga] to Great Britain: An Obscure Chapter in Farming History. *Agric. Hist.,* Oct., 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JOHN HENNIG. Goethe and Canning. *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, Dec., 1949.

R. F. V. HEUSTON. British Nationality and Irish Citizenship. *Internat. Affairs*, Jan., 1950.

J. P. HICKINBOTHAM. The Church of England and Intercommunion. *Church Quar. Rev.*, Oct.–Dec., 1949.

GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB. The American Revolution in the Political Theory of Lord Acton. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Dec., 1949.

E. J. HOBSBAWM. Trends in the British Labor Movement since 1850. *Sci. and Soc.*, Fall, 1949.

CLARENCE L. HOHL, JR. Lord Acton and the Vatican Council. *Hist. Bull.*, Nov., 1949.

J. K. HORSEFIELD. The Bank of England as Mentor. *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, II, no. 1, 1949.

W. H. HOSFORD. Some Lincolnshire Enclosure Documents. *Ibid.*

MERRITT Y. HUGHES. The Historical Setting of Milton's *Observations on the Articles of Peace*, 1649. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Dec., 1949.

A. R. HUMPHREYS. Lords of Tartary. *Cambridge Jour.*, Oct., 1949.

E. BURKE INLOW. Science and Progress in Seventeenth-Century England. *Sci. and Soc.*, Fall, 1949.

WILLARD E. IRELAND. The French in British Columbia. *British Columbia Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1949.

IVOR JENNINGS. The Making of a Dominion Constitution. *Law Quar. Rev.*, Oct., 1949.

OSCAR ALBERT JOHNSEN. Historical Revision No. CXV: The Navigation Act of 9th October, 1651. *History*, Feb.–June, 1949.

FRANCIS JONES. Some Records of a Sixteenth-Century Pembrokeshire Estate. *Bull. Board of Celtic Stud.*, May, 1949.

HANS KELSEN. The Natural-Law Doctrine before the Tribunal of Science. *Western Pol. Quar.*, Dec., 1949.

MARGARET KINARD. John Usher's Report on the Northern Colonies, 1698. *William and Mary Quar.*, Jan., 1950.

G. C. KITCHING. The Loss and Recapture of St. Helena, 1673. *Mariner's Mirror*, Jan., 1950.

PAUL G. KOCHER. The Idea of God in Elizabethan Medicine. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan., 1950.

J. A. LA NAUZE. The Collection of Customs in Australia: A Note on Administration. *Hist. Stud., Australia and New Zealand*, Nov., 1949.

J. D. LEGGE. Australia and New Guinea to the Establishment of the British Protectorate. *Hist. Stud., Australia and New Zealand*, Nov., 1949.

V. D. LIPMAN. Some Contrasts between English and Scottish Local Government. *Public Administration*, Autumn, 1949.

ADA K. LONGFIELD. Some Eighteenth-Century Advertisements and the English Linen and Cotton Printing Industry. *Burlington Mag.*, Mar., 1949.

WILLIAM P. MACARTHUR. The Identification of Some Pestilences Recorded in the Irish Annals. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Mar., 1949.

PATRICK V. MCGRATH. The Merchant Venturers and Bristol Shipping in the Early Seventeenth Century. *Mariner's Mirror*, Jan., 1950.

KEVIN M. MACGRATH. Writers in the "Nation," 1842–5. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Mar., 1949.

DENIS MAHON. Notes on the "Dutch Gift" to Charles II [I, II]. *Burlington Mag.*, Nov., Dec., 1949.

R. D. MIDDLETON. The Chapel of Magdalen College in the Time of President Frewen [17^{se}.]. *Church Quar. Rev.*, Oct.–Dec., 1949.

NANCY MOORE. David Hartley. *Hibbert Jour.*, Oct., 1949.

RUSSELL S. MORTIMER. The First Century of Quaker Printers. II. *Jour. Friends' Hist. Soc.*, XLI, no. 2, 1949.

RICHARD L. MORTON. The Reverend Hugh Jones: Lord Baltimore's Mathematician. *William and Mary Quar.*, Jan., 1950.

KARUNAMOY MUKHERYIE. Problem of Agricultural Finance in Bengal, Past and Present. *Calcutta Rev.*, July, 1949.

G. NODEL. The Turn of the Wheel. *Australian Quar.*, Sept., 1949.

LOUISE D. PATTERSON. Hooke's Gravitation Theory and Its Influence on Newton [I]. *Isis*, Nov., 1949.

R. A. PRESTON. William Blathwayt and the Evolution of a Royal Personal Secretariat. *History*, Feb.–June, 1949.

CECIL PRICE. Thomas Chudleigh on John Locke, 1684. *Notes and Queries*, CXCIV, no. 24.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

F. Douglas Price. The Recording of War. *History,* Feb.–June, 1949.
R. B. Pugh. Privy Council Minutes Newly Transferred to the Public Record Office. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research,* May, 1949.
G. Renson. De Dyslomatieke Zending in Engeland van Frederik Perrenot, Heer van Champagney (Jan. 1575–31 Maart 1576). *Rev. belge de philol. et d'hist.,* XXVII, 1949.
Gregory Robinson. Admiralty and Naval Affairs, May 1660 to March 1674. *Mariner's Mirror,* Jan., 1950.
Lloyd Ross. The Early Aims of Trade Unionism. *Australian Quar.,* Sept., 1949.
G. H. Russell. Philip Woodward: Elizabethan Pamphleteer and Translator. *Library,* June, 1949.
Jagadish Narayan Sarkar. Indian Merchant Ships and Their Skippers in the Red Sea Ports, 1611. *Jour. Indian Hist.,* Aug., 1949.
Bernadotte E. Schmitt. British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939. *Jour. Mod. Hist.,* Dec., 1949.
R. J. Schoeck. Two Notes on Margaret Gigs Clement, Foster-Daughter of Sir Thomas More. *Notes and Queries,* CXCIV, no. 25.
George F. Sensabaugh. Milton and the Doctrine of Passive Obedience. *Huntington Lib. Quar.,* Nov., 1949.
R. W. Seton-Watson. Unprinted Documents: Russo-British Relations, 1875–1878. 2nd Series. XI. From Lord Derby's Resignation to the Appointment of Lord Salisbury as Foreign Secretary. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.,* Nov., 1949.
John W. Shirley. Sir Walter Raleigh's Guiana Finances. *Huntington Lib. Quar.,* Nov., 1949.
Kurt Singer. Recollections of Keynes. *Australian Quar.,* June, 1949.
Jaipal Singh. The Development of Judiciary and Its Conflict with the Executive in Bengal between 1774–1803. *Jour. Indian Hist.,* Aug., 1949.
S. A. de Smith. Delegated Legislation in England. *Western Pol. Quar.,* Dec., 1949.
F. J. Smithen. Lancashire Presbyterianism Three Hundred Years Ago (1640–1660). *Jour. Presbyterian Hist. Soc. of England,* May, 1949.
George F. G. Stanley. Gabriel Dumont's Account of the North West Rebellion, 1885. *Can. Hist. Rev.,* Sept., 1949.
Anthony Steel. Anthony Merry and the Anglo-American Dispute about Impressment, 1803–6. *Cambridge Hist. Jour.,* IX, no. 3, 1949.
John H. Stibbs. Raleigh's Account of Grenville's Fight at the Azores in 1591. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.,* Jan., 1950.
W. E. Tate. Members of Parliament and Their Personal Relations to Enclosure: A Study with Special Reference to Oxfordshire Enclosures, 1757–1843. *Agric. Hist.,* July, 1949.
Frederick B. Tolles. Two Letters of John Bright. *Notes and Queries,* CXCIV, no. 26.
William R. Trimble. Early Tudor Historiography, 1485–1548. *Jour. Hist. Ideas,* Jan., 1950.
M. J. P. Weedon. Richard Johnson and the Successors to John Newbery. *Library,* June, 1949.
C. H. Williams. A. F. Pollard, 1869–1948. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research,* May, 1949.

FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop[1]

NAISSANCE DU GRAND SIÈCLE: LA FRANCE DE HENRI IV À LOUIS XIV, 1598–1661. By *Georges Pagès,* Membre de l'Institut. Avec la collaboration de Victor-L. Tapié, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Lille. (Paris, Hachette, 1948, pp. 221, 200 fr.) This little volume is unhappily merely the opening chapters of a larger work intended to cover the history of France up to the end of the monarchy. At the time of M. Pagès' sudden death in 1939 only the period through Richelieu had been treated. As an act of devotion toward his former teacher, Professor Tapié has added several chapters in the spirit of M. Pagès in order to present a book of logical unity. As conceived, the book was intended for the general public, as was M. Pagès' earlier volume, *La monarchie d'ancien régime,* and consequently has none of the apparatus of erudi-

[1] Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion. Nevertheless, the results of forty years of research on the Old Regime are by no means lost. A phrase here, a suggested modification of older views—for M. Pagès was not one to rush to conclusions—are evidence of his patient labors in the archives of France. The story of the book is the story of France's winning her freedom from the foreigner. Politically, of course, with the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees. But as important, for her and for Europe, she gained the independence of her mind and soul; she shook off the Italian and Spanish influences in her literature, her music, and in the arts, and thus could create the purely French culture of the *grand siècle* which so dominated continental Europe during the remainder of the Old Regime.

J. B. SIRICH, *University of Illinois*

LOUIS XIV CONTRE INNOCENT XI: LES APPELS AU FUTUR CONCILE DE 1688 ET L'OPINION FRANÇAISE. By *Jean Orcibal.* [Bibliothèque de la Société d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la France.] (Paris, J. Vrin, 1949, pp. 197.) This is a monograph of the classic kind in which the notes are three times as extensive as the text. With occasional reference to archives, it draws on the now neglected but enormous mass of printed materials on church history that has accumulated ever since the invention of printing. From these the author (an authority on Jansenism) unravels an intricate and in its way fascinating story, of which the theme, in a word, is that Louis XIV's disputes with Pope Innocent XI were a product of his expansionist foreign policy. The matters at issue, we are shown, were the "extraterritorial" rights of the French embassy at Rome, the rivalry between Louis and the Habsburgs for control of the electorate of Cologne, and the papal sympathy for the League of Augsburg. On these matters Louis went so far as to incur the danger of excommunication, against which the Declaration of Gallican Liberties was intended to be a protection in advance. Louis XIV was basically so ignorant in religion, according to the author, as to be an easy prey to the extreme Gallican forces, the parlement of Paris, the French episcopate, and especially the archbishop of Paris, Harlay de Champvallon, who had ambitions to become a kind of patriarch of the Gauls. The king instigated a revival of the most extreme conciliar doctrine, threatened to send troops to Cività Vecchia, and incited propagandists to charge the pope with indulgence to Protestants, Jansenists, and Quietists, a charge which is firmly denied by the author. If Louis refused to be pushed by the Gallicans into outright schism, says Orcibal, it was again for reasons of foreign policy: after William III's amazing "conquest" of England Louis needed the pope as a political friend. Similarly, the pope refrained from a definitive condemnation of Gallicanism because he feared that, by embarrassing Louis, he would favor the Protestants of England and of Europe. The author feels that public opinion in France was basically sympathetic to the pope. He concludes that Louis XIV, by agitating the old Gallican question, reviving an inflammatory conciliarism, appealing to a future council against the pope, and asserting that bishops might be elected by the "people" and do without papal confirmation, contributed to the troubles that later followed the bull *Unigenitus,* and kept alive the attitude resulting in 1790 in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the schism brought by the French Revolution. Thus again we see how the Revolution continued the work of the monarchy.

R. R. PALMER, *Princeton University*

LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE DE 1848 VUE PAR LES HONGROIS. By *Paul Bouteiller,* Lecteur à l'Université de Budapest. [Collection franco-hongroise, I.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1949, pp. 166.) The French Cultural Institute in Budapest is the publisher of this well-balanced and well-documented study of what the Hungarians in 1848 knew and thought about the February revolution in Paris.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Based on contemporary eyewitness accounts, editorials, letters, and diaries, this is a survey of Hungarian reports, opinions, and comments. The contemporary Hungarians, conservatives and liberals alike, were aware of the social and political aspects of the French upheaval and of its horrible effects upon the Habsburg Empire. They agreed, for different reasons however, in their contempt for Louis Philippe. The social implications were more keenly realized by the conservatives, a few of whom even uttered the word "communism." The liberals, of course, were more impressed by the political aspects: reform and liberty echoed strongly in their minds. Much speculation was going on about the question of war or peace, and Kossuth's paper realized the impact the principle of nationalism had on the Western world. The struggle between nations, which in the past had been incited for the purpose of weakening or oppressing various peoples, broke out with redoubled force, but as there were no fixed points it brought about a state of anarchy in the West. This is the heritage of the overthrown statesmen. This is the Nessus robe left as a heritage to those nations who have broken up their power and frustrated their plans. Count György Apponyi, chancellor of Hungary, in his letter of March 1, 1848, saw that the Paris revolution was a great danger to both Europe and the Habsburg monarchy, and already discerned the possibility of a Russian intervention, which in the summer of 1849 was to seal the fate of the Hungarian War of Independence: "Anyway, I am convinced that here [at the court in Vienna] they will prefer relying on the loyalty of the people rather than on Russian assistance." Sandor Petöfi, the great Hungarian poet, was absent from the capital when the news of the Paris revolution reached him. The revolution to him was the first sign of the great upheaval he had predicted, and he was afraid that the revolution in Hungary might break out without him. He therefore rushed back to Pest, where on March 15, he became the hero of the great popular demonstration. Count István Széchenyi, the protagonist of gradual reform, discerned certain favorable possibilities in the first news, but added: "Brains or good luck are needed. But one can hardly count on brains." The eyewitness account of the author Dobsa is remarkably accurate and full of enthusiasm for liberty and the people. Mr. Bouteiller's study is sober and factual. While he points out the many differences and few parallels in the political and social evolution of France and Hungary, he puts due emphasis on the impact of French intellectual influence in Hungary. As a whole, his book is evidence that in 1848 Hungarians had a sound knowledge of, and genuine sympathies for, Western Europe.

ALADAR SZEGEDY-MASZÁK, *Washington, D. C.*

PAR L'ÉPÉE ET PAR LA CHARRUE: ÉCRITS ET DISCOURS DE BUGEAUD. Introduction, choix de textes et notes par le Général *Paul Azan*. Avant-propos de Ch.-A. Julien. [Colonies et Empires: Collection internationale de documentation coloniale. Deuxième série: les classiques de la colonisation, 10.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1948, pp. xxxi, 350, 500 fr.)

GALLIENI PACIFICATEUR: ÉCRITS COLONIAUX DE GALLIENI. Choix de textes et notes par *Hubert Deschamps,* Professeur à l'Institut d'Études politiques de l'Université de Paris, et *Paul Chauvet,* Gouverneur des Colonies. [Colonies et Empires. Deuxième série: les classiques de la colonisation, 13.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1949, pp. 382, 650 fr.) Four names stand out in the tradition of the soldier as winner and organizer of new areas in the second French colonial empire: Bugeaud, Faidherbe, Gallieni, and Lyautey. Bugeaud, creator of the Army of Africa and largely of French Algeria, is the least known through his writings. These selections, presented as he wrote them, suggest that he has been quite unnecessarily edited in the past. General Azan, who has written an excellent biography, here supplies a biographical

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sketch which serves the purpose of a key to the texts. The Algerian experience, the formative part of which is here treated, must be familiar in order to have any serious understanding of the second French colonial empire. It is a pity that the plan of this work did not permit of a brief tracing of the early controversies about military and civil rule and colonization down through the schemes of Napoleon III. No claims to the effect that Algeria is an integral part of France should be allowed to disguise the fact that the governor-generalship of Algeria has always represented the final promotion in a French colonial career. The Bugeaud tradition developed through Faidherbe to Gallieni in West Africa, and was passed on to Lyautey in Tonkin and Madagascar. Like Bugeaud, Gallieni was an organizer rather than a writer. By his time the method was well developed. He is allowed to expose it in his own words, including the famous spreading "patch of oil." This occurs in a general letter of instructions to administrators in Madagascar. These papers are no less interesting if one suspects that French methods were less original than they are often made to seem. The Dutch in the Far East felt obliged early to apply dual rule to Moslem populations. As for Tonkin, it may be remembered that Joseph Chailley, a friend of Gallieni, had studied both Dutch and English colonization. It was Lanessan, civilian governor general of Indochina, who gave Gallieni his opportunity there. Gallieni is clear on the point that the military stage of pacification and organization is preliminary to civilian administration.

M. M. KNIGHT, *University of California, Berkeley*

ARTICLES

ROBERT BOUTRUCHE. Histoire de France au moyen age (publications des années 1940–46). *Rev. hist.*, Apr.–June, 1949.

ROBERT SCHACKLETON. Montesquieu in 1948. *French Stud.*, Oct., 1949.

J. R. CARRÉ. Le secret de Jean-Jacques Rousseau (I, II). *Rev. d'hist. litt. de la France*, Apr.–June, July–Sept., 1949.

ROBERT DERATHÉ. Les rapports de la morale et de la religion chez J. J. Rousseau. *Rev. philos.*, Apr.–June, 1949.

J. SENTOU. Impôts et citoyens actifs à Toulouse au début de la Révolution. *Ann. du midi*, LXI, nos. 3–4, 1948.

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK. The Place of the American Revolution in the Causal Pattern of the French Revolution. *Am. Friends of Lafayette*, 1948.

R. LAURENT. La fortune des privilégiés du bailliage de Toul en 1789. *Ann. hist. de la Révolution française*, Oct.–Dec., 1949.

G. LAURENT and J. GODECHOT. À propos de Drouet. *Ibid.*, July–Sept., 1949.

P. H. THORE. Fédérations et projects de fédérations dans la région toulousaine. *Ibid.*, Oct.–Dec., 1949.

A. SOBOUL. Notes inédits de Saint Just. *Ibid.*

J. GODECHOT. Le Directoire vu de Londres. *Ibid.*

FREDERICK B. TOLLES. Unofficial Ambassador: George Logan's Mission to France, 1798. *William and Mary Quar.*, Jan., 1950.

J. LEFLON. L'histoire religieuse du premier Empire, état actuel des travaux. *Rev. d'hist. de l'église de France*, XXXIV (no. 124), 1948.

J. M. THOMPSON. Napoleon's Journey to Elba in 1814. I, By Land, II, By Sea. *Am. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1949, Jan., 1950.

LOUIS PHILIPPE GAGNON. Chateaubriand, diplomate et homme d'état. *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, Oct.–Dec., 1949.

M. H. VICAIRE. Le catholicisme français au XIX^e siècle. *Annales (éc., soc., civil.)*, July–Sept., 1949.

CHARLES H. POUTHAS. Complexité de 1848. *1848 (rev. des révolutions contemp.)*, Nov., 1949.

G. ROUGERON. La situation économique et sociale de l'Allier à la fin de la monarchie de juillet. *Ibid.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

J. B. Duroselle. L'attitude politique et sociale des catholiques français en 1848. *Rev. d'hist. de l'église de France,* XXXIV (no. 124), 1948.

E. Tersen. Les révolutions de 1848. II. *Rev. hist.,* July–Sept., 1949.

Le climat et les faits, les hommes, textes et documents [entire volume on 1848]. *Maintenant,* nos. 9, 10, 1948.

Lynn M. Case. French Opinion and Napoleon III's Decision after Sadowa. *Public Opinion Quar.,* Fall, 1949.

Robert T. Byrnes. Antisemitism in France before the Dreyfus Affair. *Conference on Jewish Relations,* New York, 1949.

F. Trévoux. Structure de la fortune privée en France. *Rev. d'économie polit.,* Jan.–Feb., 1949.

J. V. Rouquet La Garrigue. L'imposition des paysans en France. *Études économiques,* June, 1949.

Jean Valarche. Le paysan français s'est-il enrichi depuis 1939? *Rev. polit. et parl.,* Nov., 1949.

Robert Strausz-Hupé. Frankreich und Deutschland. *Die Amerikanische Rundschau,* Apr.–May, 1949.

The Working of the New Employment Injury Legislation in France. *Internat. Labour Rev.,* Oct., 1949.

Kees van Hoek. The Monnet Plan in France. *Contemp. Rev.,* Dec., 1949.

H. Chambre. Le parti communiste français en 1949. *Vie éc. et sociale,* Nov., 1949.

Bernard Lavergne. La crise politique française. Encore la question allemande. *Année polit., éc., et coopérative,* Nov.–Dec., 1949.

Albert Somit. Sartre's Existentialism as a Political Theory. *Social Sci.,* Jan., 1950.

Jean Ehrhard. Orientation of U. S. Students in France. *Internat. Educ. News Bull.,* Jan. 1, 1950.

J. Fred Rippy. French Investments in Argentina and Brazil. *Pol. Sci. Quar.,* Dec., 1949.

Documents

Richard M. Brace. Carnot and the Treason of Dumouriez. *Jour. Mod. Hist.,* Dec., 1949.

D. Ligou. Trois lettres de Jeanbon Saint-André. *Ann. hist. de la Révolution française,* July–Sept., 1949.

H. B. Hill. La constitution du Valais de 1798. *Ibid.*

THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke[1]

ACTES DES ÉTATS GÉNÉRAUX DES ANCIENS PAYS-BAS. Volume I, ACTES DE 1427 À 1477. Edited by *Joseph Cuvelier,* with the collaboration of *J. Dhondt* and *R. Doehaerd.* (Brussels, Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1948, pp. xiii, 366.) This volume is the product of more than a century of intermittent efforts by Belgian archivists and other scholars to collect the essential documents on the early history of assemblies in the Low Countries. The publication will be of major interest and usefulness to scholars now engaged in the comparative study of early representative institutions—an approach which owes much to the concepts and publications of a Belgian professor, M. Lousse. The documents come from the crucial period when the dukes of Burgundy, attempting to centralize administration of their northern principalities, used assemblies for that whole area as one of their instruments. In these assemblies the Estates began to learn how to think and act in terms larger than their old provincial frames. The process was slow, and one feature is the unwillingness of the constituent provincial or town groups to give representatives full powers of action in the large assemblies. The relatively small size of the area, permitting easy "reference back," favored this tendency. But the same factor of size helps explain why "reference back" would delay rather than nullify the possibilities of getting useful re-

[1] Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sults from the Estates General. The comparison with France on this point is suggestive. By far the largest number of documents comes from town records, both financial accounts and conciliar minutes. The texts are grouped by assemblies. The editors introduce each group by a detailed, factual narrative based on the texts with minimum interpretation or reference to secondary literature. The bulk of the texts, and the most interesting assemblies, fall in the ten years, 1467–1477, which saw the climax and crisis of Burgundian power. CHARLES H. TAYLOR, *Harvard University*

ARTICLES

L. J. ROGIER. Alberdingk Thijm en de katholieke herleving. *Annalen Thijmgenootschap,* May, 1949.

J. M. VAN DER KROEF. Abraham Kuyper and the Rise of Neo-Calvinism in the Netherlands. *Church Hist.,* XVII, 1948.

A. DEPOORTER. De geschiedenis van de wetgeving in ons land in zake onderwijs. *Collationes Brugenses,* XLV, 1949.

C. DE BAERE. Hoe de Compagnies of Nieuwe Kamers van Rhetorica te Brussel ingericht waren. *Eigen schoon en de Brabander,* Sept.–Oct., 1949.

P. GEYL. De Hollandsche Statenpartij. *Gids,* Jan., 1950.

W. F. PRINS. Sloet tot Oldhuis, 1808–1884. *Ibid.,* Oct., 1949.

F. MULLER VAN BRAKEL. Het grote jaar 1666. *Historia,* Aug., 1949.

A. ASPINALL. The Rupture of the Orange Marriage Negotiations, 1814. *History,* Feb.–June, 1949.

M. DIERICKX. Groot Nederlandse geschiedschrijving. *Kath. Cult. Tijdschr. Streven,* Oct., 1949.

De razzia van Rotterdam. *Ned in oorlogstijd,* Nov., 1949.

J. N. BAKHUIZEN VAN DEN BRINK. De Harmonia Confessionum van 1581 en de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland. *Ned. Archief Kerkgesch.,* XXXVII, no. 1, 1949.

F. S. KNIPSCHEER. Hendrik van Bommel, vertaler van Ste. Matheus. *Ibid.*

M. VAN RHIJN. Nieuwe gegevens over Van Oosterzee. *Ibid.*

W. S. UNGER. De Nederlandse archieven en de oorlog. *Ned. archievenblad,* LIII, no. 3, 1949.

G. KNUVELDER. H. J. Polak (1844–1908). *Nieuwe Taalgids,* XLII, no. 6, 1949.

BERTIL RAPP. Abraham Hondius. *Oud Holland,* LXIV, no. 2, 1949.

J. VAN KUYK. Een in steen gesneden zegelstempel van de Hollandsche rekenkamer. *Ibid.*

A. STARING. De medailleur J. H. Schepp en Frans Hemsterhuis. *Ibid.,* no. 3–4, 1949.

G. RENSON. De diplomatieke zending in Engeland van Frederik Perrenot, Heer van Champagney (Jan., 1575–31 Mar., 1576). *Rev. belg. de philol. et d'hist.,* XXVII, no. 1–2, 1949.

L. CEYSSENS. Les papiers de Quesnel saisis à Bruxelles et transportés à Paris en 1703 et 1704. *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.,* XLIV, no. 3–4, 1949.

G. VAN ZUYLEN. L'enseignement primaire en Belgique de 1831 à 1878. *Rev. ecclés. de Liège,* XXXVI, 1949.

HENRI GOFFINET. Le passé luxembourgeois. *Rev. gén. belge,* Oct., 1949.

LÉON E. HALKIN. Les derniers siècles de la Principauté de Liège. *Ibid.*

F. VAN KALKEN. La révolution de 1848 en Belgique. *Rev. Univ. Bruxelles,* July–Sept., 1949.

DOCUMENTS

CH. VERLINDEN. Code d'assurances maritimes selon la coutume d'Anvers, promulgué par le Consulat espagnol de Bruges. *Bull. Comm. Anciennes Lois et Ordonnances de Belgique,* XVI, 1949.

KARL BITTMANN. Zwei Briefe zur Geschichte Lüttichs und der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Frankreich und Burgund von 1467. *Schweiz. Beitr. z. allg. Gesch.,* VII, 1949.

NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes[1]

DEN DANSKE INTELLIGENS FRA REFORMATIONEN TIL NUTIDEN [The Danish Intelligentsia from the Reformation to the Present Time]. By *Theodor Geiger.*

[1] Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1949, pp. 159, 37.) Written by a sociologist and subtitled "A Study in Empirical Cultural Sociology" this book is not, however, without interest for historians. It is both a substantial contribution to our knowledge of history and a revealing exposition of applied statistical method. The author, who uses the twenty-seven volumes of the *Danish Biographical Lexicon* as his sole source, is primarily concerned with investigating the origins of the individuals who have made up the intelligentsia, or culturally creative elite, in Denmark since the Reformation. In this work he shows the quantitative development and composition of that intelligentsia through four centuries. More important, he shows the relative contributions made to the personnel of the elite by such groups as native born and foreign born, rural born and urban born, by men and women, and by the various socio-economic classes and sub-classes. Because the author's concepts are broad, because all the types of creativeness are examined singly as well as collectively, because all the information is chronologically ordered, the reader is provided with a useful measurement not only of general trends but also of the developments in such fields as music, literature, science, business, education, politics, administration. A wealth of factual data may be found both in the text and in the accompanying tables. We are shown, for example, how the volume of the intelligentsia increased far more rapidly than population or even urban population, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century. The natural sciences outstripped the humanities about the middle of that century. The nineteenth century also found the foreign element, which had been extremely prominent in earlier periods, falling off to relative insignificance. The domination of Danish culture by persons born in Copenhagen is well demonstrated and is good evidence of the urban character of modern civilization. Most important, probably, is the detailed demonstration that the intelligentsia has been largely recruited from a small group in the intellectual or so-called "nonmaterial" occupations. In general, the author's systematic approach makes the book more thorough and authoritative than anything hitherto done in the field by conventional historians. Each step is discussed at length, each judgment is subject to review, and all major generalizations are based upon data which are fully presented. Unfortunately, the full possibilities of the method are not exploited, and there are some weaknesses that are not due entirely to the nature of the source material. The author creates his own chief weakness by attempting too ambitious a definition of the intelligentsia. He insists upon certain nice discriminations that cannot be made on a solidly objective basis and is therefore forced to make all selections and classifications personally. This subjective element lowers the value of his work. Despite this, however, the work retains a quality which should commend to historians both its subject matter and its method. HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK, *Los Angeles, California*

SUOMEN HISTORIAN KARTASTO—ATLAS OF FINNISH HISTORY. Edited by *Eino Jutikkala.* (Helsinki, Söderström, 1949, pp. 83, 850 M.) Scholars to whom the Finnish language is an impenetrable mystery will welcome this two language atlas of seventy-four maps, prepared by six Finnish experts. The subject-matter distribution is typically traditional in emphasis, with seventeen maps dealing with administrative-judicial boundaries, sixteen with settlement, thirteen with military affairs, ten with agriculture. One might have wished that the atlas had been printed on a better grade of paper (not a severe requirement in view of Finland's paper situation), and that it had included a greater amount of recent economic, social, and political data. For example, only six maps deal with the period since 1938. Finally, the usefulness of the atlas would have been augmented by translating the detailed bibliographical appendix, which is in Finnish only. Despite these shortcomings, the atlas deserves a wide circula-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion in the United States, the more so since the recent devaluation of the mark greatly increases the purchasing power of the dollar.

JOHN ILMARI KOLEHMAINEN, *Heidelberg College*

ARTICLES

GOTTFRID CARLSSON. Några problem i Sturetidens historia. *Hist. Tids.* (Sw.) no. 3, 1949.
SAM. HEDAR. Gustav Vasa och det saltgröna smöret. *Ibid.*
OLOF JÄGERSKIÖLD. Karl Ferdinand Vasa, Sverige och det polska konungavalet 1648. *Ibid.*
OTTO GRÖNLUND. Arkebiskop Erik Benzelius d. y. och den svenska befolkningsstatistikens uppkomst. *Statsvet. Tids.*, no. 4, 1949.
LARS. G. VON BONSDORFF. [Review article of Erkki K. Osmonsalo, *Suomen valloitus 1808* (Finlands erövring 1808), Helsingfors, 1947]. *Hist. Tids.* (Sw.), no. 3, 1949.
TORVALD T:SON HÖJER. 1810–1812: Några Anmärkningar. *Ibid.*
Y. MAURY. Gobineau et la Suède. *Merc. de Fr.*, Apr., 1949.
EDVARD HAMBRO. Some Remarks about the Relations between Municipal Law and International Law in Norway. *Nord. Tids. for Int. Ret*, nos. 1–2, 1949.
N. RYGG. Vitenskap, politikk og legende [overturn of the first labor government in Norway 1928]. *Samtiden*, no. 8, 1948.
RALPH E. HOLBEN. Planned Economy in Norway. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, Dec., 1949.
A. J. FISCHER. Norway after the Elections. *Contemp. Rev.*, Dec., 1949.
ALBERT LANGE FLIFLET. Finnland som del av Europa. *Samtiden*, no. 7, 1949.
BIRGER NERMAN. De baltiska flyktingarna. *Sv. Tids.*, no. 10, 1949.
GUNNAR HECKSCHER. Nordisk försvarssamverkan. *Ibid.*, no. 9.
Sweden Today: Some Problems of Internal and Foreign Policy. *World Today*, Oct., 1949.
HARALD WIGFORSS. Sweden and the Atlantic Pact. *Internat. Organization*, Aug., 1949.
WILHELM MUNTHE MORGENSTIERNE. The Atlantic Pact: A Norwegian Point of View. *Proc. Acad. Pol. Sci.*, May, 1949.
E. L. The Scandinavian Countries in the Council of Europe. *Norseman*, Nov.–Dec., 1949.

DOCUMENTS

The Negotiations Regarding a Scandinavian Union of Defense [Jan.–Feb., 1949]. *Nord. Tids. for Int. Ret*, nos. 1–2, 1949.
Den nord atlantiske traktat af 4. April 1949 (Atlantpagten). *Ibid.*
Fælleserklæring vedrørende Sydslesvigpolitikken vedtaget den 29. Juni 1949 af samtlige Rigsdagens partier med undtagelse af Kommunistene. *Ibid.*

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner[1]

THE HABSBURG MONARCHY, 1809–1918: A HISTORY OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. By *A. J. P. Taylor*, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (Rev. ed.; London, Hamish Hamilton; New York, Macmillan, 1948, 1949, pp. 279, $3.50.) Professor Taylor has entirely rewritten his outstanding earlier work (1941) under the same title and has expanded the portions devoted to Austrian foreign policy, because, as he rightly observes, "the Habsburg Monarchy, more than most Great Powers, was an organization for conducting foreign policy; and its fate was determined quite as much by foreign affairs as by the behavior of its peoples." In the past, scholars treating the internal history of the Austrian Empire and of Austria-Hungary have overemphasized the monarchy in relation to the "provinces" or the "nations." To a considerable extent, though perhaps not wholly, the author has rectified this defect in both editions. In the present edition he has changed the "treatment" of internal

[1] Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

history previously based chiefly on two "illusions": "the liberal," whereby he wrote of "the lost opportunities" of the monarchy, and "the national," whereby this was stressed as "movements of 'the people' " with ultimate reference to the succession states. He has now arrived at the view that "mass-nationalism, where it existed, was very different from the nationalism of the intellectuals." In this, "Marshal Tito found an 'idea.' " The future will reveal whether this, too, is an "illusion" and whether this new measuring rod of "mass-nationalism," as expressed through Marxism—"a common loyalty"—in the new Yugoslavia of six peoples republics (of which three are inhabited chiefly by Serbs) will curb national conflicts.

ROBERT J. KERNER, *University of California, Berkeley*

ROSA LUXEMBURG: GEDANKE UND TAT. By *Paul Frölich.* (Hamburg, Friedrich Oetinger, 1949, pp. xiv, 353, $3.50.) Thirty years ago the most capable German disciple of Marx suffered the fate of Lincoln. The new edition of her biography deserves attention first because, in contrast to the earlier English version, it contains an introductory essay which, together with Paul Frölich's recent sketch, *Zur Krise des Marxismus,* constitutes a significant contribution to the history of Marxism. Next, while the introduction of the English translator presented this book simply as "the first serious attempt to give a full-length biography of the most remarkable woman the international socialist movement has ever produced," the author himself now appraises some of his forerunners. The new version, on the basis of a better source, also makes the interesting correction that on the eve of the war of 1914 the fiery enemy of imperialistic wars did not cheer up a Socialist peace rally but remained silent in the expectation of the unavoidable breakdown of the International (p. 241.). Among other changes one notices shrewd remarks about contemporary Russia, "which has nothing in common with the principles of Socialism" (p. 297). On the other hand, the British evaluation of Frölich's achievements as editor of Luxemburg's collected works, historian of the German working movement, and translator of historical studies is this time missing. For a future edition of the improved text one would wish that the bibliography of Luxemburg's German writings which is now given be completed by the publications in Luxemburg's two native languages and the literature about her. What Laurat, Lukacs, Pieck, Radek, Shachtman, Sternberg, and others had to say about Luxemburg may sometimes interest as much as the more important sources which Frölich used. Moreover, his merit of discussing Luxemburg's thought more thoroughly and competently than his predecessors should be matched by a more intensive treatment of her industrial history of Poland and her treatise on reform and revolution. The former could be studied as a step toward Luxemburg's historiographical performance on the accumulation of capital which even adversaries called "masterworks of Marxist historiography." Besides the inevitable misprints and stylistic slips, the failure to provide some quotations with references and the whole book with an index, a small error in quoting (p. 272), and the anachronisms of having Humboldt contact the French Republic—instead of Louis Philippe's regime—(p. 40), treating tsarist Russia's Jews as a "race"—instead of a nationality and a religion—(p. 15), and leaving in a 1949 edition the statement, "and the independent Poland is there" (p. 50), are minor flaws. They are understandable from the conditions under which the manuscript was composed and published and do not seriously affect the excellency of this study.

HELMUT HIRSCH, *Roosevelt College of Chicago*

ARTICLES

FRIEDRICH WIELANDT. Die Anfänge des landesherrlichen Münzwesens der Markgrafen von Baden. *Zeitsch. f. Gesch. d. Oberrheins,* no. 1, 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

M. Chaning-Pearce. Boehme and the *Ungrund*. *Church Quar. Rev.*, Oct., 1949.
Horst Penner. West Prussian Mennonites through Four Centuries. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, Oct., 1949.
Willy Andreas. Goethe und Carl August am Oberrhein (1779). *Zeitsch. f. Gesch. d. Oberrheins*, no. 1, 1949.
G. P. Gooch. Goethe, the Liberal Conservative. *German Life and Letters*, July, 1949.
Johannes Urzidil. Goethe and Art. *Germanic Rev.*, Oct., 1949.
Walther Riese. Goethe's Conception of Evolution and Its Survival in Medical Thought, a Tribute on the Occasion of the Bicentenary of Goethe's Birth. *Bull. Hist. of Medicine*, Nov., 1949.
C. P. Magill. Goethe and the Modern World. *German Life and Letters*, July, 1949.
August Closs. Goethe and Kierkegaard. *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, Sept., 1949.
Fernand Schneider. La pensée militaire allemande à l'époque de Clausewitz. *Rev. de défense nationale*, Nov., 1949.
Manfred Krebs. Das badische General-Landesarchiv: Grundriss seiner Geschichte und seiner Bestände. *Zeitsch. f. Gesch. d. Oberrheins*, no. 1, 1949.
Rudolf Stadelmann. Die Märzrevolution 1848 und die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung. *Schweizer. Beitr. z. allg. Gesch.*, 1949.
Walter Gunzert. Darmstadt im Jahre 1848. *Zeitsch. f. Gesch. d. Oberrheins*, no. 1, 1949.
Edmund Silberner. Friedrich Engels and the Jews. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Oct., 1949.
Heinrich Uhlig. Der Zweibund von 1879 und Bismarcks Friedenssystem. *Neues Abendland*, Oct., 1949.
Franz Schnabel. Das Problem Bismarck. *Hochland*, Oct., 1949.
Sidney B. Fay. Bismarck's Welfare State. *Current Hist.*, Jan., 1950.
Jean Valarché. Edouard Bernstein, Marxiste National. *Rev. d'hist. éc. et soc.*, XXVII, nos. 3–4, 1949.
Heinz Politzer. Rudolf Borchardt: Poet of Assimilation. *Commentary*, Jan., 1950.
Hajo Holborn. Dilthey and the Critique of Historical Reason. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan., 1950.
Alfred von Martin. Das Bild des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts nach den Memoiren von Hermann Uhde-Bernays. *Wandlung*, no. 7, 1949.
Giorgio Pasquali. Il testamento di Teodoro Mommsen. *Riv. stor. ital.*, Sept., 1949.
Rudolf Holzhausen. Die Quellen zur Erforschung der Geschichte des "Dritten Reiches" von 1938 bis 1945. *Europa Archiv*, Nov. 5, 1949.
Georg Vogel. Hitlers Krieg gegen England: Das deutsch-englische Verhältnis vor Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkrieges. *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1949.
Alexander Bregman. Munich in Perspective. *Dalhousie Rev.*, Oct., 1949.
Richard S. Pattee. The Cruise of the German Raider *Atlantis*, 1940–41. *Proc. U. S. Naval Inst.*, Dec., 1949.
Leonard Krieger. The Inter-Regnum in Germany: March–August 1945. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Dec., 1949.
C.-Thomas Charles. Le pont aérien: l'économie berlinoise sous le blocus. *Actualité économique*, Oct., 1949.
A. J. Fisher. Germany's First President. *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov., 1949.
Robert Birley. Education in the British Zone of Germany. *Internat. Affairs*, Jan., 1950.
Eberhard Menzel. Die deutsche Westgrenze nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. *Europa Archiv*, Oct. 5, 1949.
Frederick H. Hartmann. Settlement for Germany. *Yale Rev.*, Winter, 1950.
Edgar Salin. Social Forces in Germany Today. *For. Affairs*, Jan., 1950.
Henri Berr. Psychopathologie de l'Allemagne [Parts 3 and 4]. *Rev. de synthèse*, Jan., 1949.
Robert Strausz-Hupé. Austria's Dilemma. *Yale Rev.*, Winter, 1950.
Joseph Stumvoll. Austrian Libraries, Past and Present. *Library Quar.*, Jan., 1950.
Emil Schieche. Det Österrikiska arkivväsendet. *Hist. Tids.* (Sw.), no. 3, 1949.
Bruno Meyer. Der Bruderstreit auf dem Schloss Thun. *Zeitsch. f. Schweiz. Gesch.*, no. 4, 1949.
A. Rey Schwyzer. Kirchenpolitische Probleme im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts. *Ibid.*
Raymond de Saussure. Haller and La Mettrie. *Jour. Hist. Medicine*, Autumn, 1949.
Louis Junod. Notes sur les loges militaires dans les régiments suisses au service de France sous l'Ancien Régime. *Zeitsch. f. Schweiz. Gesch.*, no. 4, 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

G. A. Frey. Warum gründete Napoleon I. den Einheitsstaat Aargau? *Politische Rundschau,* Sept., 1949.
Anton Mädler. Jungdeutsche Elemente in Luzern. *Zeitsch. f. Schweiz. Gesch.,* no. 4, 1949.
Arminio Janner. Jacob Burckhardts Persönlichkeit. *Schweizer Rundsch.,* Jan., 1950.
Werner Kägi. Jacob Burckhardt und seine Berliner Lehrer. *Schweiz. Beitr. z. allg. Gesch.,* 1949.

ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

Articles

Vittorio De Caprariis. "Le Cose Fiorentine" del Guicciardini. *Riv. stor. ital.,* June, 1949.
Benedetto Croce. Una questione che forse non si chiuderà mai: La questione del Machiavelli. *Quaderni della "Critica,"* July, 1949.
Edward McN. Burns. The Liberalism of Machiavelli. *Antioch Rev.,* Fall, 1948.
Irving Ribner. Machiavelli and Sidney's "Discourse to the Queenes Majesty." *Italica,* Sept., 1949.
Id. The Significance of Gentillet's "Contre-Machiavel." *Mod. Lang. Quar.,* June, 1949.
Luigi Russo. Il Cuoco e il Foscolo interpreti di Machiavelli. *Belfagor,* Sept., 1949.
Aldo Vallone. Pomponazzi, Ariosto e la Magia. *Italica,* Sept., 1949.
Ruggiero Romano. Banchieri genovesi alla corte di Filippo II. *Riv. stor. ital.,* June, 1949.
Beatrice Corrigan. An Annotated Commedia Erudita: Giovan Battista Sogliani's "L'Uccellatoio." *Italica,* Sept., 1949.
Emilio Santini. Commemorando Vittorio Alfieri. *Ibid.*
Leonello Vincenti. Alfieri e lo "Sturm und Drang." *Belfagor,* Sept., 1949.
Luigi Russo. Vittorio Alfieri e l'uomo nuovo europeo. *Ibid.,* July, 1949.
Lavinia Mazzucchetti. Goethe and Italy. *Contemp. Rev.,* Dec., 1949.
Luigi Bulferetti. Il '48 italiano (senza diavoli e senz' acqua santa). *Belfagor,* Jan., 1949.
A. William Salomone. The Liberal Experiment and the Italian Revolution of 1848—A Revaluation. *Jour. Central Eur. Affairs,* Oct., 1949.
Robert T. Handy. The Influence of Mazzini on the American Social Gospel. *Jour. Religion,* Apr., 1949.
Gwilym O. Griffith. Mazzini and Communism. *Contemp. Rev.,* Jan., 1950.
Ninetta S. Jucker. Sicilian Survey, 1860–1949. *Ibid.,* Sept., 1949.
Anthony J. De Vito. La festa religiosa come motivo nell'opera di Giovanni Verga. *Italica,* Sept., 1949.
L. Poliakoff. Mussolini and the Extermination of the Jews. *Jewish Social Stud.,* July, 1949.
Michele Cantarella. Guida bibliografica degli scrittori italiani in esilio, 1925–1945. *Belfagor,* May, 1949.
Franco Ravà and Giorgio Spini. Fonti documentarie e memorialistiche per la storia della crisi dello stato italiano (1940–1945) [cont.]. *Riv. stor. ital.,* Sept., 1949.
Thomas R. Fischer. Allied Military Government in Italy. *Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. and Social Sci.,* Jan., 1950.
Vincenzo Petrullo. Total War, Alien Control, and the Sicilian Community. *Ibid.*
Luigi Russo. Ricordo di Guido De Ruggiero. *Belfagor,* Jan., 1949.
Paolo Alatri. Spunti politici e sociali nei recenti discorsi di Pio XII. *Ibid.,* Sept., 1949.
Luigi Russo. La collera del Vico e la stizza del Croce. *Ibid.*
Sergio Antonielli. Giuseppe Ungaretti. *Ibid.*
Giovanni Cecchetti. Giuseppe Ungaretti. *Italica,* Dec., 1949.
Howard R. Marraro. Doctoral Dissertations in Italian Accepted by American Universities, 1934–1948. *Ibid.*
Vincent Luciani. Bibliography of Italian Studies in America [cont.]. *Ibid.,* Sept., Dec., 1949.
Howard J. Hilton, jr. The Franco-Italian Customs Union. *Dept. of State Bull.,* Aug. 15, 22, 1949.
Richard Goold-Adams. 1948 in Italy. *Quar. Rev.,* Jan., 1949.
Id. Time for Thought in Italy. *Ibid.,* Oct., 1949.
Sir Raymond Beazley. Trieste. *Ibid.,* Apr., 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

[Italian literature, thought, and art]. *Life and Letters,* Aug., 1949.

P. M. Pasinetti. Coscienza critica: Aspects of Contemporary Italian Criticism. *Romanic Rev.,* Oct., 1949.

Percy Eckstein. Trilussa, Poet of the Roman People. *Contemp. Rev.,* Nov., 1949.

Riccardo Bauer. The Drama of Italian Youth. *Nineteenth Cent.,* Nov., 1949.

Giampiero Carocci. Palmiro Togliatti. *Belfagor,* Jan., 1949.

Carlo Morandi. Per una storia degli italiani fuori d'Italia (A proposito di alcune note di Antonio Gramsci). *Riv. stor. ital.,* Sept., 1949.

Mario Rossi. Italy: Socialism Subdivided. *Nation,* Dec. 3, 1949.

Antonio Giordano. Problems and Prospects in Italy. *Contemp. Rev.,* Jan., 1950.

Documents

Carlo Avarna Di Gualtieri. Il carteggio Avarna-Bollati, Luglio 1914–Maggio 1915 [cont.]. *Riv. stor. ital.,* June, 1949.

RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson[1]

HISTORY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN OUTLINE. By *J. V. Polišenský.* (Prague, Sphinx, 1947, pp. 143, bound $1.80, unbound $1.50.) The book owes its origin to a course of lectures delivered at the Czechoslovak Institute in London late in 1946; it appeared on the book market in the spring of 1948. The preface by Professor R. R. Betts was written in April, 1947. As the same year is given on the title page, it may be assumed that the text underwent no changes after the February coup in Czechoslovakia. The reviewer joins Professor Betts in his favorable comment on the succinctness of the story. It was not an easy task to survey in less than 150 pages the long course of Czechoslovak history and to pay attention to such points of contact with the English-speaking peoples as might stimulate interest in Czechoslovak developments. For that reason the author compiled a comparative chronology which enables the reader to compare quickly Czechoslovak events with memorable dates from British history. The author's desire to bring in as many facts as possible is undoubtedly responsible for an evident lack of cohesion and of fluency in the narrative. Some passages concerning the early phases of Czechoslovak history follow the pattern of medieval chronicles, whereas chapters on more recent times seldom give more than a bare outline. To preserve proportions between the various periods the author compressed the sketch of political developments from 1918 to 1939 to nine pages. Only an expert hand would have succeeded in drawing such a miniature. In Polišenský's outline only some aspects of the republican era have been treated. The selection has been determined by the uneasy atmosphere that prevailed in Czechoslovakia after its liberation—*e.g.,* the activities of Antonín Švehla are not mentioned at all though he was leader of the strongest political party and several times headed the Czechoslovak cabinet. The reviewer refrains from enumerating inaccuracies which could have been eliminated had the text been carefully revised before it went to press.

Otakar Odlozilik, *Columbia University*

Articles

F. C. Barghoorn. Some Recent Books on Russia and the Soviet Union [review article]. *Jour. Mod. Hist.,* June, 1949.

R. W. Seton-Watson, G. R. Noyes, and W. J. Rose. Bernard Pares. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.,* Nov., 1949.

[1] Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERNEST J. SIMMONS. In Memoriam—Sir Bernard Pares. *Am. Slavic and East Eur. Rev.*, Oct., 1949.

LEO LOEWENSON. Karl Stählin: 1865–1939. A Chapter of German Historiography on Russia. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.*, Nov., 1949.

L. CHEREPNIN. A. S. Lappo-Danilevskii—burzhuaznyi istorik i istochnikoved [Lappo-Danilevskii—bourgeois historian and expert on historical sources]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 8, 1949.

Vyshe uroven' bol'shevistskoi kritiki i samokritiki v sovetskoi istoricheskoi nauke! [Raise the standard of criticism and self-criticism in Soviet historical scholarship]. *Ibid.*, no. 7, 1949.

Osnovnye zadachi istorikov sovetskogo obshchestva [the main tasks of the historian of Soviet society]. *Ibid.*, no. 8, 1949.

V. IATSUNSKII. Izuchenie mestnoi istorii v SSSR [the study of local history in the USSR]. *Ibid.*

Urgent Tasks of Soviet Historians of the Orient. *Current Digest of Soviet Press*, Oct. 4, 1949.

Periodization of Russian History. *Ibid.*

GEOFFREY GORER. Some Aspects of the Psychology of the People of Great Russia. *Am. Slavic and East Eur. Rev.*, Oct., 1949.

ALEXANDER DOMBROVSKY. Prehistory of Ukraine and Russian Historiography. *Ukrainian Quar.*, Autumn, 1949.

NICHOLAS P. VAKAR. The Name "White Russia." *Ibid.*

NICHOLAS ZERNOV. Vladimir and the Origin of the Russian Church. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.*, Nov., 1949.

TADEUSZ LEWICKI. La "ville" comane de Troïa. *Rev. des études slaves*, XXV, fasc. 1–4, 1949.

A. FROLOW. Le *Znamenie* de Novgorod: les origines de la légende. *Ibid.*

PIERRE PASCAL. La conquête de l'Amour: I. Les premières expéditions—Paškov et ses préparatifs. *Ibid.*

WALTHER KIRCHNER. Le commencement des relations économiques entre la France et la Russie (1550–1650). *Rev. hist.*, Oct.–Dec., 1949.

CARL B. O'BRIEN. Agriculture in Russian War Economy in the Later Seventeenth Century. *Am. Slavic and East Eur. Rev.*, Oct., 1949.

V. SHUTOI. Narodnaia voina na Ukraine protiv shvedskikh zakhvatchikov v 1708–1709 godakh [the war of the people in the Ukraine against Swedish aggression, 1708–1709]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 7, 1949.

E. ZAOZERSKAIA. K voprosu o zarozhdenii kapitalisticheskikh otnoshenii v melkoi promyshlennosti Rossii nachala XVIII veka [the beginning of capitalistic relations in the small industries of Russia at the beginning of the 18th century]. *Ibid.*, no. 6, 1949.

STUART R. TOMPKINS and MAX L. MOORHEAD. Russia's Approach to America, Part I. From Russian Sources, 1741–1761. *British Columbia Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1949.

V. SAMOILOV. Sotsial'no-politicheskie vzgliady A. N. Radishcheva [social and political views of Radishchev]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 9, 1949.

E. VILENSKAIA. Istoricheskie vzgliady A. N. Radishcheva [historical views of Radishchev]. *Ibid.*

D. M. LANG. Some Western Sources of Radiščev's Political Thought. *Rev. des études slaves*, XXV, fasc. 1–4, 1949.

WILLIAM E. NAGENGAST. Moscow, the Stalingrad of 1812: American Reaction toward Napoleon's Retreat from Russia. *Russian Rev.*, Oct., 1949.

DAVID M. LANG. The Decembrist Conspiracy through British Eyes. *Am. Slavic and East Eur. Rev.*, Dec., 1949.

O. SHPARO. Rol' Rossii v bor'be Gretsii za nezavisimost' [the role of Russia in the Greek struggle for independence]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 8, 1949.

LEWIS GALANTIÈRE. Through the Russian Looking-Glass [review of *La Russie en 1839*, by the Marquis de Custine, 4 vols., Paris, 1843]. *For. Affairs*, Oct., 1949.

WIKTOR WEINTRAUB. Mickiewicz and Bakunin. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.*, Nov., 1949.

V. SMIRNOVA. Studencheskoe dvizhenie v Kazanskom universitete v 1887 godu [student unrest in Kazan university in 1887]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 10, 1949.

WARREN B. WALSH. Pobedonostsev and Panslavism. *Russian Rev.*, Oct., 1949.

EUROF WALTERS. Franco-Russian Discussions on the Partition of Austria-Hungary, 1899. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.*, Nov., 1949.

MICHAEL FLORINSKY. Twilight of Absolutism: 1905. *Russian Rev.*, Oct., 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

V. Petrov. Revoliutsionnaia propaganda v tsarskoi armii nakanune revoliutsii 1905 goda (do russko-iaponskoi voiny) [revolutionary propaganda in the tsar's army on the eve of the 1905 revolution (before the Russo-Japanese war)]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 6, 1949.

V. Maklakov. The Agrarian Problem in Russia before the Revolution. *Russian Rev.*, Jan., 1950.

N. Mansvetov. Velikaia Oktiabr'skaia sotsialisticheskaia revoliutsiia i sozdanie Narodnogo komissariata po delam natsional'nostei [the October Revolution and the creation of the People's commissariat for minority problems]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 8, 1949.

A. Andreev. Bor'ba litovskogo naroda za ustanovlenie sovetskoi vlasti v 1918–1919 godakh [the struggle of the Lithuanian people for the establishment of Soviet power in Lithuania, 1918–19]. *Ibid.*, no. 9, 1949.

Jane B. Swan and Walther Kirchner. An Episode in the Great Russian Revolution: The Children's Colonies in Siberia. *Delaware Notes*, 22d Series, 1949.

J. Stalin. Unpublished Writings of Stalin. *Labour Monthly*, Dec., 1949.

B. Markus. Stroitel'stvo sotsialisticheskoi promyshlennosti Moskvy v 1935–1937 godakh [the progress of socialist industry in Moscow in 1935–37]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 7, 1949.

E. H. Carr. From Munich to Moscow (II). *Soviet Stud.* (Oxford), Oct., 1949.

Kurt Assmann. The Battle for Moscow, Turning Point of the War. *For. Affairs*, Jan., 1950.

George Fischer. General Vlasov's Official Biography. *Russian Rev.*, Oct., 1949.

The Second World War and Ukraine, 1939–1949. *Ukrainian Quar.*, Summer, 1949.

George C. Guins. East and West in Soviet Ideology. *Russian Rev.*, Oct., 1949.

Gleb Struve. Anti-Westernism in Recent Soviet Literature. *Yale Rev.*, Dec., 1949.

J. A. Brown, jr. Public Opinion in the Soviet Union. *Russian Rev.*, Jan., 1950.

L. B. Blair. A Historical Examination of Soviet Foreign Policy. *Proc. U. S. Naval Inst.*, Sept., 1949.

C. Alexandrowicz. Comecon: The Soviet Retort to the Marshall Plan. *World Affairs*, Jan., 1950.

George C. Guins. Soviet Law—Terra Incognita. *Russian Rev.*, Jan., 1950.

Mintauts Chakste. Soviet Concepts of the State, International Law and Sovereignty. *Am. Jour. Internat. Law*, 1949.

I. D. Levin. The Soviet Concept of Sovereignty: On the Essence and Significance of the Principle of Sovereignty. *Current Digest of Soviet Press*, Oct. 25, 1949.

J. Miller. Some Recent Developments in Soviet Economic Thought. *Soviet Stud.*, Oct., 1949.

M. K. Bennett. Food and Agriculture in the Soviet Union, 1917–48. *Jour. Pol. Economy*, June, 1949.

Will Lissner. Land Socialization in Soviet Agriculture, 1917–1947. *Am. Jour. Ec. and Sociol.*, Oct., 1949.

Cyril Bryner. Soviet Agricultural Policy. *Current Hist.*, Oct., 1949.

A. Lee. Soviet Air Power. *Nineteenth Cent. and After*, June, 1949.

I. Belkin. Vliianie velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii na revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie vo Frantsii v 1918–1919 godakh [the impact of the October Revolution on the revolutionary movement in France, 1918–19]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 9, 1949.

F. Shabshina. Velikaia oktiabr'skaia sotsialisticheskaia revoliutsiia i krest'ianskoe dvizhenie v Koree [the October revolution and the peasant movement in Korea]. *Ibid.*, no. 6, 1949.

A. Zorina. Velikaia oktiabr'skaia sotsialisticheskaia revoliutsiia i strany Latinskoi Ameriki [the October Revolution and the countries of Latin America]. *Ibid.*, no. 9, 1949.

Władysław Rusiński. Jan Rutkowski: wspomnienie posmiertne [Jean Rutkowski: souvenir posthume]. *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* [*Annales d'hist. sociale et écon.*], XI, 1949.

Philip Friedman. Polish Jewish Historiography between the Two Wars (1918–1939). *Jewish Social Stud.*, Oct., 1949.

Stanisław Szczotka. Uwagi o zbiegostwie włościan w dawnej Polsce [aperçus sur le déguerpissement et les évasions des paysans dans l'ancienne Pologne]. *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* [*Annales d'hist. sociale et écon.*], XI, 1949.

Stanisław Hoszowski. Z dziejów handlu zbożowego w Toruniu, 1760–1860 [histoire du commerce de blé à Toruń, 1760–1860]. *Ibid.*

M. Boguslavskii. Politicheskaia bor'ba v Pol'she po voprosam vneshnei politiki nakanune vtoroi mirovoi voiny [the political struggle in Poland over foreign policy on the eve of the second world war]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 10, 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HEINRICH FELIX SCHMID. Polens geschichtliche Beziehungen zu Deutschen und Tschechen in polnischer Schau. *Blick nach Osten,* Jan., 1949.
VINCENT BLANÁR. Slavonic Studies in Slovakia, 1938–1947. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.,* Nov., 1949.
J. V. POLIŠENSKY. Francis Lützow: 1849–1916. *Ibid.*
R. H. BRUCE-LOCKHART. The Second Exile of Eduard Beneš. *Ibid.*
FITZROY MACLEAN. Tito: A Study. *For. Affairs,* Jan., 1950.
HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG. Tito and Stalin. *Atlantic,* Oct., 1949.
Tito and the West. *Soundings,* Sept., 1949.

DOCUMENTS

Unprinted Documents: Russo-British Relations, 1875–1878. 2d Series. XI. From Lord Derby's Resignation to the Appointment of Lord Salisbury as Foreign Secretary. *Slavonic and East Eur. Rev.,* Nov., 1949.
MALCOLM BURR (tr.) The Code of Stephan Dušan, Tsar and Autocrat of the Serbs and Greeks. *Ibid.*

Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer[1]

MOHAMMEDANISM: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY. By *H. A. R. Gibb,* Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. [The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, 197.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. ix, 206.) "Islam is an autonomous expression of religious thought and experience, which must be viewed in and through itself and its own principles and standards," says the author in his preface. By clinging steadfastly to this conviction and by combining with it broad scholarship and superb English style, Professor Gibb has produced a brilliant and important elucidation of Islam. Although of special interest to professional students, its historical approach makes it illuminating for all others concerned with acquiring some understanding of the Moslem, particularly Arab, religion as it confronts the forces within and without that once again, as so often in the past, threaten its existence. From its opening chapter on "The Expansion of Islam" to its tenth and last on "Islam in the Modern World," with a graphic description of the crisis affecting in greater or lesser degree its 300,000,000 adherents, the book presents in lucid and swiftly moving sentences a synthesis of the latest historical research. An appended annotated bibliography will prove useful to those approaching the subject for the first time. Professor Gibb is a highly regarded Western scholar who has spent much time in the Moslem world. But there is obviously a point beyond which even the most superbly qualified and sympathetic outsider cannot penetrate in assessing the subjective forces that ultimately constitute a major religious experience. Such assessment can only be made by an insider with both passion and knowledge. An insider with these qualifications has regrettably not yet put his thoughts into print. S. G.

ARTICLES

Modern Afghanistan. *Doc. française,* Apr., 1949.
Transjordan. *Ibid.,* Jan., 1949.
MAJOR CHAPELLE. The Nomads of the Southern Sahara. *Tropiques,* Mar., 1949.
C. J. EDMONDS. The Travels of Arthur MacMurrough Kavanagh in Kurdestan and Luristan in 1850. *Royal Central Asian Jour.,* July, 1949.

[1] Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents, unless otherwise indicated.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HENRY FIELD. Some Notes on the Al bu Muhammad of Iraq. *Ibid.*
M. PHILIPS PRICE. A Visit to Afghanistan. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1949.
R. V. PROUDLOCK. The Miranzai Valley. *Ibid.*, July, 1949.
JULIUS JOTHAM ROTHSCHILD. Lurdaneh. *Palestine Exploration Quar.*, Jan., 1949.
The Azizan or the Princes of Bhotan. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, July, 1949.
King Feisal I [in Persian]. *Ettela'at* (Tehran), July, 1949.
Memoirs of Yephrem Khan. *Ibid.*
Recent Constitutional Changes in Iran. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, July, 1949.
Syria after Husni Za'im. *World Today* (London), Oct., 1949.
A. C. E. Persia Revisited. *Ibid.*, Sept., 1949.
ARTASHES ABEGHIAN. History of Armenia. *Armenian Rev.*, Sept., 1949.
G. AKOPYAN. American Imperialist Expansion in the Near and Middle East [in Russian]. *Voprosy ekonomiki*, June, 1949.
MUSA 'ALAMI. The Lesson of Palestine. *Islamic Rev.* (London), June, 1949.
REZA AMINI. The Iranian Senate [in Persian]. *Ettela'at*, July, 1949.
DAVID AYALON (NEUSTADT). The Circassians in the Mamluk Kingdom. *Jour. Am. Oriental Soc.*, July, 1949.
ALESSIO BOMBACI. La Collezione di Documenti Turchi dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia. *Riv. degli studi orient.* (Rome), 1949.
AHARON COHEN. The Syrian Coup d'État [in Hebrew]. *Yalqut Hamizrah Hatikhon* (Jerusalem), May, 1949.
HRANT ERMOYAN. Soviet Armenia Today. *Armenian Rev.* (Boston), Sept., 1949.
HANS HEYMANN. Iranian Oil Concessions [I, II]. *Fortnightly*, Sept., Oct., 1949.
ALEXANDER KHATISSIAN. Memoirs of a Mayor. *Armenian Rev.*, Sept., 1949.
H. KURDIAN. Waziric Dynasty of Badr al Jamali, the Armenian. *Ibid.*
EMILE MARMORSTEIN. The Fate of Arabdom: A Study in Comparative Nationalism. *Internat. Affairs*, Oct., 1949.
M. MASHKIN. The Struggle for the Commune of 1870 in Algeria [in Russian]. *Voprosy istorii*, June, 1949.
V. L. MIRMIROGLU. The Battle of Pelekano between Orphan and Andronicus III [in Turkish]. *Belleten* (Istanbul), Apr., 1949.
ABDOL HOSSEIN MAVA'I. The Capture of Tehran [in Persian]. *Ettela'at*, July, 1949.
A. V. PIASKOVSKI. The Peoples of Turkestan in the Revolution of 1905–7 [in Russian]. *Izvest. Akad. Nauk SSSR, Otdel. lit. i yaz.*, May, 1949.
M. V. POPOV. U. S. Expansion in Iran in World War II [in Russian]. *Izvest. Akad. Nauk SSSR, ser. ist. i fil.*, Aug., 1949.
H. G. REISSNER. The *Ummī* Prophet and the Banu Israil of the Qur'an. *Muslim World*, Oct., 1949.
MUHAMMAD RIF'AT BEY. The Story of el Faluge. *Islamic Rev.*, June, 1949.
ACHILLE ROGGIO. Origini della Guerra Veneto-Tunisina (1784–1792). *Oriente mod.* (Rome), Apr., 1949.
J. W. ROBERTSON-SCOTT. Who Secured the Suez Canal Shares? *Quar. Rev.*, July, 1949.
M. SELTZER. The Minorities of the Near East [in Hebrew]. *Yalqut Hamizrah Hatikhon*, Apr., 1949.
JAMES M. TASHJIAN. The American Military Mission to Armenia. *Armenian Rev.*, Sept., 1949.
LAURA VECCIA VAGLIERI. Le Vicende del harigismo in epoca abbaside. *Riv. degli studi orient.*, 1949.
WILLIAM YALE. Ambassador Morgenthau's Special Mission of 1917. *World Politics*, Apr., 1949.
SAMUEL M. ZWEMER. Francis of Assizi and Islam. *Muslim World*, Oct., 1949.
W. B. FISHER. Population Problems of the Middle East. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, July, 1949.
A. MCK. FROOD. Some Post-War Economic Developments in Egypt. *Advancement of Science*, Apr., 1949.
I. GUELFAT. Economic Trends in the Middle East. *Am. Jour. Ec. and Soc.*, July, 1949.
PAUL B. HENZE. The Economic Development of Soviet Central Asia to the Eve of World War II. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, July, 1949.
J. HANS. Economic Aspects of the Middle East. *Islamic Rev.*, June, 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Feminist Movement in Egypt [in Arabic]. *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabī* (London), no. 10, 1949.
Emir Kamuran Ali Bedr Khan. The Kurdish Problem. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, Oct., 1949.
Hamid Nayar-Nouri. Persian Women, Past and Present [in Persian]. *Ettela'at*, Sept., 1949.

Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

Articles

Elizabeth Converse. The United States as a Trustee [Pacific Area]. *Far Eastern Survey*, Nov. 2, 30, 1949.
Siegbert Hummel. Der Medizin-Buddha und seiner Begleiter in lamaistischen Pantheon. *Sinologica*, II, no. 2, 1949.
David N. Rowe. Where Can We Stand in Asia. *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, Autumn, 1949.
Hans Bruno Horst Boehling. Das Dien, ein alter chinesisches Rechtsgebilde. *Sinologica*, II, no. 1, 1949.
Id. Eine Mussestunde mit T'ang-Gedichten. *Ibid.*, no. 2, 1949.
Derk Bodde. Report on Communist China. *Far Eastern Survey*, Nov. 16, 1949.
Olive M. Botham. Foundations—From Chinese Islam. *Muslim World*, Jan., 1950.
Frank T. Cartwright. Protestant Missions in Communist China. *Far Eastern Survey*, Dec. 28, 1949.
Agnes Fang-chih Chen. Chinese Frontier Diplomacy: The Coming of the Russians and the Treaty of Mertcinsk [and] Kikhta Boundary Treaties and Agreements. *Yenching Jour. Soc. Stud.*, Feb., 1949.
Bin Cheng. The Constitution of the Republic of China. *Parliamentary Affairs*, Summer, 1949.
Te-k'un Cheng. The Royal Tomb of Wang Chien. *Sinologica*, II, no. 1, 1949.
J. Dehergne. Un Shanghaien illustre: Ou Yu-chan, peintre et poète. *Ibid.*
Bengt R. Hoffman. China, 1949. *Canadian Forum*, Oct., 1949.
Harald Kirfel. Die Ehe in Chinesischen Recht. *Sinologica*, II, no. 2, 1949.
Emile Gaspardone. Bronzes des Ming réfugiés en Annam. *Ibid.*, no. 1.
T. Hatoda. The Custom of *K'ai-yeh-tsu* in Rural Communities of North China—Re-examination into Circumstances of the Village Community [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Oct., 1949.
Fumio Kusano. The Economic Strength of the Chinese Communists. *Contemp. Japan*, June, 1949.
T'ai-ch'u Liao. Rural Education in Transition: A Study of Old-Fashioned Chinese Schools (*Szu Chu*) in Shantung and Szechuan. *Yenching Jour. Soc. Stud.*, Feb., 1949.
G. W. Keeton. Chinese Nationalism in Eclipse. *World Affairs*, July, 1949.
Yueh-hwa Lin. The Kinship System of the Giarung. *Yenching Jour. Soc. Stud.*, Feb., 1949.
Franz Michael. Military Organization and Power Structure of China during the Taiping Rebellion. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Nov., 1949.
Frederick Moore. Report on China. *World Affairs*, Fall, 1949.
Nathaniel Peffer. Chinese Communism: Epoch or Episode. *Yale Rev.*, Autumn, 1949.
Red China. *Reporter*, Jan. 3, 1950.
T. Sekino. A Consideration about the Prehistoric Pottery of Northern China—Especially about the Grey and Black Pottery [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Nov., 1949.
M. Shimada. The Silk Textile Industry in Liao [in Japanese]. *Ibid.*
George B. Sokolsky. The China Story. *Catholic World*, Sept., 1949.
A Survey of Chinese Emigration. *Internat. Labour Rev.*, Sept., 1949.
Hessell Tiltman. Mao Tse-tung Speaks. *Contemp. Japan*, June, 1949.
Id. China's Political Situation. *Ibid.*, Mar., 1949.
Richard L. Walker. August Pfizmaier's Translations from the Chinese. *Jour. Am. Oriental Soc.*, Oct.–Dec., 1949.
Hung-soo Han. Neujahr in Korea. *Sinologica*, II, no. 1, 1949.
Robert T. Oliver. Korea; a Progress Report (I). *Current Hist.*, Sept., 1949.
C. Martin Wilbur. George McAfee McCune (June 16, 1908–November 5, 1948). *Far Eastern Quar.*, Feb., 1950.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PAUL H. CLYDE. Japan's March to Empire: Some Bibliographical Evaluations. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Dec., 1949.

JEROME B. COHEN. Tax Reform in Japan. *Far Eastern Survey*, Dec. 28, 1949.

ARIMICHI EBISAWA. Early Japanese Catholics. *Contemp. Japan*, June, 1949.

O. M. GREEN. Japan, 1945–9. *Contemp. Rev.*, Sept., 1949.

ELEANOR M. HADLEY. Japan: Competition or Private Collectivism. *Far Eastern Survey*, Dec. 4, 1949.

FRANCIS L. HAWKS (comp.). Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan. *Contemp. Japan*, Mar., 1949.

L. I. HEWES, JR. On the Current Readjustment in Land Tenure in Japan. *Land Ec.*, Aug., 1949.

K. HŌGETSU. The Significance of the Commercial *Masu* (Measure) at the end of the Middle Ages from the Viewpoint of the History of Social Economy (in Japan) [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Oct., 1949.

SHOJI IIZAWA. The Path for Prime Minister Yoshida. *Contemp. Japan*, Mar., 1949.

RYOKICHI MINOBE. The Economic Stabilization Program of Japan. *Ibid.*

SADACHIKA NABEYAMA. The Rise of the Japan Communist Party. *Ibid.*

Id. The Japanese Rightists, Past and Present. *Ibid.*, June, 1949.

FREDERICK POPE. Report on the Japanese Chemical Industry. *Far Eastern Survey*, Dec. 14, 1949.

BEATRICE G. REUBENS. Social Legislation in Japan. *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1949.

G. B. SANSOM. Can Japan be Reformed. *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1949.

S. SATO. Some Unknown Fragments of the Criminal Law of Ancient Japan [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Oct., 1949.

H. SONO. Problems of Recent Archeological Studies in Japan [in Japanese]. *Ibid.*

KURT STEINER. The Revision of the Civil Code of Japan: Provisions Affecting the Family. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Feb., 1950.

A Survey of Economic and Social Conditions in Japan. *Internat. Labour Rev.*, July, 1949.

MASAMICHI ROYAMA. The Reform of the Japan Social Democratic Party. *Contemp. Japan*, June, 1949.

FUKUHEI TAKEBEYA. The Bear Festival in the Ainu Religious Life. *Ibid.*, Mar., 1949.

MILES W. VAUGHN. American Policy and Future Security of Japan. *Ibid.*, June.

QUIRINO E. AUSTRIA. L'expérience du gouvernement des Philippines. *Rev. Internat. des sciences admin.*, no. 2, 1949.

LEONHARD ADAM. Criminal Law and Procedure in Nepal a Century Ago: Notes Left by Brian H. Hodgson. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Feb., 1950.

MEDHI DULYACHINDA. The Development of Labour Legislation in Thailand. *Internat. Labour Rev.*, Nov., 1949.

A. GLEDHILL. Some Aspects of the Operation of International and Military Law in Burma, 1941–1945. *Mod. Law Rev.*, Apr., 1949.

PERCIVAL GRIFFITHS. India, Pakistan, and Burma Today. *Asiatic Rev.*, July, 1949.

J. R. JOHNSON. The Saga of the First Nebraska in the Philippines. *Nebraska Hist.*, June, 1949.

RONALD STUART KAIN. Moscow in Indonesia. *Current Hist.*, Aug., 1949.

ELLIS MEREDITH. Dr. Rose Kidd Beere, First Colorado Nurse in the Philippines. *Colorado Mag.*, July, 1949.

VIRGINIA THOMPSON and RICHARD ADLOFF. Southeast Asia Follows the Leader. *Far Eastern Survey*, Nov. 2, 1949.

AMRY VANDENBOSCH. The Netherlands—Indonesian Union. *Ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1950.

R. O. WINSTEDT. Malay History from Chinese Sources. *Bull. School Oriental and African Stud.* (London), XIII, pt. 1, 1949.

WILBUR ZELINSKY. The Indochinese Peninsula: A Demographic Anomaly. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Feb., 1950.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States History

Wood Gray[1]

GENERAL

AMERIKA VAN KOLONIE TOT WERELDMACHT. DE GESCHIEDENIS VAN DE VERENIGDE STATEN. By *J. Presser*. (Amsterdam, Elsevier, 1949, pp. xii, 632, fl. 15.) This attractively written history of the United States by a professor of contemporary history at the Municipal University of Amsterdam is intended for the Dutch public. The author aimed less at preparing a textbook than at giving his own interpretation and evaluation. The approach of Mr. Presser, whose models in historical writing are Voltaire's *Essai sur les moeurs* and Heinrich Heine's *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland,* is always stimulating but more literary and impressionistic than scholarly. His method results in some excellent passages. Thus subjects congenial to him, like the westward movement and the status of minority groups, are presented with much insight. Unfortunately, however, he is often badly informed or led astray by his personal views. He has failed to consult some outstanding historians (for example, Osgood and the contributors to *The American Nation: A History,* edited by A. B. Hart) and, on the other hand, he has uncritically accepted unreliable authorities. Undue space is devoted to striking but insignificant matter, whereas the main lines of the political, social, economic, and cultural development tend to be poorly sketched. The reader will, for example, get an incomplete, and even false, conception of the developments leading to the Mexican War and the Civil War. One inexplicable omission is a discussion of the actions of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration toward the Philippines, particularly in a book which underlines the fallacies of American policy toward these islands up to the 1920's. Other shortcomings in American civilization likewise receive too much stress. The author, for example, characterizes the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century as a cultural desert, and yet speaks of a cultural collapse after the Civil War. Mr. Presser points on several occasions to the idealistic trends in American history but has on the whole been unduly influenced by America's critics.

K. W. Swart, *Cambridge, Massachusetts*

THE HOURS AND THE AGES: A SEQUENCE OF AMERICANS. By *Edward Nicholas.* (New York, William Sloane, 1949, pp. 304, $3.50.) The author takes as text a passage from Emerson's "Essay on History." It includes the well-known expression with which the historian readily agrees: "Every revolution was first a thought in one man's mind," but it includes as well the words, "Of the universal mind, each individual man is one more incarnation." Of this the historian might express a reasonable doubt, but the author really means it, for he says in concluding his opening statement, "Transcending the destinies of societies as those transcend the destinies of persons, we are aware of an immense overtone, of a third order of spiritual energy. . . . But it seems to us that deity is there." This, then, is not a history that we are asked to review. Yet it is not often that a book of interpretation sends the reviewer back to consider the basic evidence at great length. This book does that in the case of Margaret Fuller, of Jessie Benton Fremont, and, particularly, of Elizabeth Lucas Pinckney and of Peggy Eaton. Perhaps the author is correct, that the emotions aroused, at least the gossip and supposition and innuendo that are based upon emotional response, explain

[1] Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

much of the meaning of the periods covered. Preponderantly male America may well reconsider the approach of this book that gives so high a place to these four women who seem to dominate the longer reaches of history simply by being an expression of hope in a man's world. Mr. Nicholas gives us a brief note on authorities. There are no footnotes for the copious quotations that appear in the text—some of them very striking and some of them little known. Actually only twelve books are cited in this brief note on authorities. There has been some use of manuscripts. Occasionally Mr. Nicholas offers a conclusion of his own, as on the Conway Cabal. The spirit in which this ambitious work is submitted is best seen in the concluding sentences: "To verify the historian's insight into people no authority can be cited. The work must speak for itself." It may be suggested, if we may borrow from another field for illustration, that this is the work of a painter and not of a photographer. Within this volume are certainly sketches in biography. The figures of Sam Adams and Andrew Jackson as they appear here are appealing and unforgettable. This is apparently what the author contemplated, for we read, "The book contemplates only one limited part of the immense field. I reconstruct the lives of a few Americans, the print of whose personality and livingness has survived the accidents of time. They had their small personal concerns and patterns; but within them, above them, moved the overlife of their society. It made them what they were; and they were the agents who carried it."

EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON, *Stanford University*

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. By *James Grossman*. [American Men of Letters Series.] (New York, William Sloane, 1949, pp. x, 286, $3.50.) The injunction that James Fenimore Cooper left against the publication of any official biography has been so meticulously honored that there is today no wholly satisfactory life of the most widely read American novelist. Lounsbury's critical study written almost seventy years ago remains valuable, H. W. Boynton's volume of 1931 is still biographically the most complete, and R. E. Spiller's study of Cooper's social criticism is acute and adequate. The latest account of Cooper's life and writings, the work of a New York lawyer, has the virtues of clarity, terseness, and considerable insight into the novelist's economic doctrines; it does not provide the comprehensive study of Cooper which is so obviously needed. James Grossman's book is intelligent and informative. The author is neither lost in the maze of Cooper bibliography nor inextricably enmeshed in the unpleasant litigation which embroiled the novelist during many of his later years. His method is basically chronological, and he successfully inserts into his narrative summaries of and comments on the Cooper volumes as they appear. He handles the endless lawsuits in which Cooper engaged with particular skill, clarifying the issues and praising Cooper's legalistic talents without denying the fact that the novelist's own tactlessness and belligerence were responsible for much of his difficulty. The discussion of the Anti-Rent controversy (pp. 197–219) which furnished the themes of three of Cooper's novels is particularly clear and adroit. Yet it is clear that the most important value of Mr. Grossman's book is expository. He presents little biographical or literary background, and his rare excursions into aesthetic criticism follow stereotyped patterns. On the other hand, he has read the minor novels of Cooper with diligence and understanding and he is consequently able to point out merits in the lesser known sea and forest stories in a way which should satisfy the most ardent Cooper *aficionado*. Even the reader who is reasonably familiar with Cooper's fiction will appreciate the author's shrewd interpretation of such books as *Satanstoe, Miles Wallingford, Home as Found, Wyandotte,* and *The Bravo*. Mr. Grossman's lively and forthright style does much to mitigate the rather dreary succession of plot summaries which the plan of his book makes necessary.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN, *University of Illinois*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LINCOLN AND THE BALTIMORE PLOT, 1861: FROM PINKERTON RECORDS AND RELATED PAPERS. Edited by *Norma B. Cuthbert.* (San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library, 1949, pp. xxii, 161, $3.00.) Was Abraham Lincoln in danger of being assassinated at Baltimore while on his way to Washington in 1861, or was the "plot" from which he escaped by slipping into the Capital ahead of schedule simply the febrile creation of jittery advisers? Thanks to Miss Cuthbert, the student now has, in *Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot,* all the evidence of consequence relating to this long-standing question. Here is Pinkerton's own story, written in 1866; his agency's record book for January and February, 1861, containing the contemporary reports of operatives, himself included; Herndon's notes of an interview with Norman B. Judd; and a short section on Ward Hill Lamon's connection with the plot and Pinkerton. Yet the question remains a question. That there were men in Baltimore who were talking about killing Lincoln as he rode from one station to another is certain; that there was a deadly purpose behind their bombast is far from clear. Even Miss Cuthbert, more familiar with the subject than any reader is likely to be, refrains from offering a verdict. Inconclusive though the evidence may be, it is a decided advantage to have it readily available, carefully and knowledgeably annotated.

PAUL M. ANGLE, *Chicago Historical Society*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE UNITED STATES. By *K. C. Wheare.* [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York, Macmillan, 1949, pp. xiv, 286, $2.00.) The announced purpose of the series to which this little book belongs is that each volume shall attempt "by way of a biography of a great man to open up a significant historical theme." This aim the author appears to have kept constantly in mind. He has contrived in less than ninety thousand words to compress the essential facts about the life of Abraham Lincoln, a shrewd estimate of the man, and an illuminating interpretation of the period in which Lincoln played his role. In doing so he has managed to incorporate in his text a large number of well-selected passages of Lincoln's highly significant utterances. The author, a former Australian Rhodes scholar, is now the Gladstone professor of political institutions at Oxford. The great merit of his book comes from the author's success in selecting the salient features of the period with which he deals, his ability to concentrate on those features, and to state in clear and precise terms the essential facts about each situation as it developed. An excellent organization also adds to the good qualities of the book. Positive errors of fact are few and not of much consequence. There are, however, quite a number of passages where the statements made are of doubtful validity or carry with them implications that may mislead the reader. The fault, however, is not sufficiently marked to detract seriously from the value of the volume. The series in which the book appears is intended primarily for the British public. It is to be hoped that the volume may come to the attention of many such readers. They will get from it a substantially correct and illuminating interpretation of Lincoln and the period in which he figured. It is also to be hoped that it may have many American readers. They, too, may gain from it a deeper and clearer understanding of Lincoln and his age.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON, *Dartmouth College*

FEMALE PERSUASION: SIX STRONG-MINDED WOMEN. By *Margaret Farrand Thorp.* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949, pp. x, 253, $3.75.) From the many interesting, "strong-minded" women who lived and worked for many causes in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, Mrs. Thorp has selected six for this little book. A half dozen other authors might each choose a different six and still leave unexhausted the number of women who plunged vigorously into a variety of new occu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pations and aided in the reform movements of those years when the idea of progress and the stimulating hope of perfectionism encouraged Americans to attempt both the possible and the impossible. The women Mrs. Thorp has chosen are from various sections of the country and represent different philosophies of life and different interests. They have in common a breaking of precedent, a strength and toughness of mind, and the undertaking of work hitherto unusual for women. In so far, each earned the title of "strong-minded," which does not deny that almost all of them were successful within the sphere at that time accorded to women. None of them was a leader in the so-called woman's rights movement, each of them had decided ideas on the activities suitable for women, but each was in some way a pioneer in opening new lines of interest for her sex. Mrs. Thorp's list of women who "persuaded" with marked success in that generation contains Lyman Beecher's eldest daughter, Catherine, who spent a lifetime in an effort to provide for woman an education suitable for her obligations, and Jane Grey Swisshelm, outstanding in the Midwest as an editor and a writer in defense of the antislavery and other reform movements. Amelia Bloomer appears, also, with suitable comment on her major activity as the editor of a temperance newspaper as well as mention of her advocacy of a sensible dress for women. Associated with the *National Era* and with Godey's *Lady's Book*, Grace Greenwood was a writer of note, poet, novelist, and propagandist for a variety of reform movements. A search for a Southern woman to add to the group led Mrs. Thorp to the happy inclusion of Louisa S. McCord, feminine defendent of the Southern way of life and the institution of slavery in the pre-Civil War years. The last name on the list is that of Lydia Maria Child, who espoused many causes but wrote most tellingly for the antislavery crusade. The careers of these women were all interesting and significant in American social and intellectual life of the period and the accounts of them are written with sympathy and skill. Each is allowed to speak for herself from selections from her many printed pages. Neither an elaborate bibliography nor an index is necessary. There is at least one picture of each and various illustrations from contemporary publications. ALICE FELT TYLER, *University of Minnesota*

METAL MAGIC: THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN SMELTING AND REFINING COMPANY. By *Isaac F. Marcosson*. (New York, Farrar, Straus, 1949, pp. 313, $4.50.) Here is the story of a great industrial organization, managed by a great dynasty—the Guggenheims—which in fifty years carried its activities around the globe. ASARCO (American Smelting and Refining Company) was born in 1899, in an age when young America was becoming a world power. The author would have us believe that the old phrase, "trade follows the flag" might well be reworded, by saying "the flag follows the pick." For he takes us on a hurried tour of ASARCO's activities into our western states, into Mexico, Central and South America, Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, and Saudi Arabia. On such a tour one would no longer see the old time prospector, grizzled and weather beaten; but rather one would observe a staff of highly trained, specialized group of geologists, equipped with the latest scientific instruments; for prospecting has become a science. Following on their heels one would witness the introduction of the latest, most modern mining and smelting technology. Gone also is the old "divining rod," replaced by geophysical instruments, and the helicopter. The whole world is their laboratory, and is constantly being scoured for new mining properties. Expansion has ever been their keynote. Titans of finance and industry, J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Thomas F. Ryan, Bernard Baruch, Jacob H. Schiff, Henry H. Rogers, are only a few of a much larger number who helped "The House of Guggenheim" gain control of the basic metals of the earth and lay the foundation for one of the nation's greatest cumulative fortunes. Its interests girdle the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

globe. The story of the company's entrance into Mexico dwarfs the accounts of all other ventures in alien lands. The company's interests extend far beyond its huge smelting and refining business. Its by-products are astounding—the development of arsenic as a weed killer, an insecticide; cadmium, indium, thallium, antimony, bismuth, terrerium are only a few of the many other by-products. Perhaps the most significant present-day mining exploration project is the world-wide search for the magic mineral of the twentieth century, uranium. The name ASARCO is today synonymous with the mining enterprise wherever ore is dug and concentrates smelted.

JOHN W. OLIVER, *University of Pittsburgh*

THE STORY OF TOBACCO IN AMERICA. By *Joseph C. Robert.* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, pp. xii, 296, xxiv, $5.00.) In both scope and interpretation this account of "that bewitching vegetable" is very broad. It begins with Columbus receiving strange dry leaves as tokens of friendship from the natives of San Salvador and ends with the opportunity afforded the tobacco export market by the Marshall Plan. The various phases of the tobacco industry, including the plantation, the leaf market, the factory, and nicotine manners, are considered, and likewise the effects of tobacco on economic, social, and political life in America. Cogent attention is given to the relation of tobacco to the founding of the Chesapeake colonies, the development of Negro slavery, the coming of the American Revolution, the diplomacy of the early national period, and other significant aspects of American history. The volume is more than a synthesis of the findings of other writers on the history of tobacco. The author has utilized the research in his earlier work, *The Tobacco Kingdom* (1938), which established him as an authority on tobacco; and on many other aspects of the subject he has also done pioneer research. For examples the antitobacco movement, the popular shifts from one form of tobacco to another, and the antitrust trial of 1941 may be cited. A fourteen-page chapter of bibliographical notes at the end of the text provides selective lists of the historical studies on tobacco and indicates topics yet to be explored. The treatment is lively and fresh. The story moves at a rapid pace. The author's flair for the dramatic has served his purpose well. The use of pertinent anecdotes underlines many points that would otherwise appear to have scant significance. It is a delightfully written book. General readers will find this volume entertaining and informative reading, and professional historians and their students have here a useful and reliable book.

EVERETT E. EDWARDS, *Washington, D. C.*

F.D.R., MY BOSS. By *Grace Tully.* With a Foreword by *William O. Douglas.* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949, pp. xiii, 391, $3.50.) It was her good fortune that made this bright Irish girl the competent and devoted secretary of President Roosevelt through years that shook the world. This story of seventeen years' association from Albany to Washington and to the last day at Warm Springs, when the old Negro played "Going Home" on his accordion as the funeral cortege started the long journey to Hyde Park, is an intimate memoir of that devotion. The records at Hyde Park only recently opened to scholars will yield many volumes, but the man behind the records can only be understood, if at all, by turning to such day-to-day stories as Miss Tully's. For such accounts and others to the same purpose the historian will be duly grateful even though they are written by such worshipful admirers as Miss Tully. It will be enough of a contribution if they recall to life, as they did to Judge Douglas, the third great war President of the United States.

G.S.F.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENCY. By *Louis Brownlow.* (Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1949, pp. xi, 137, $2.75.) The author of this modest work is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

classified in *Who's Who in America* as a "journalist and public administrator." Educated at home he entered newspaper work at the age of fifteen and in 1904, at the age of twenty-five, he became Washington correspondent for the Nashville *Banner* and the Louisville *Evening Post*. The Presidents whom he came to know best were the two Roosevelts and Woodrow Wilson. Under Wilson he served as one of the District of Columbia commissioners (1915–20), and under Franklin D. Roosevelt he was chairman of the President's committee on administrative management (1936-37), whose report had great influence on the government and on the subsequent report of the "Hoover Commission." Between 1920 and 1930 he served as city manager in Petersburg, Virginia, and Knoxville, Tennessee, and held other administrative posts. In 1930 he helped to organize and in 1931 became the first director of the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago, a post from which he retired in 1945. For over thirty years he has been a potent leader in advancing the art and science of public administration. He has published but little over his own name. The present work consists of six lectures delivered in 1947 at the University of Chicago under the auspices of the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation, and printed in 1949 without change. In an informal, anecdotal style these lectures show the rise of the presidency as an institution, how the demands upon the President have multiplied, what the pressures are under which he works, how inadequate the provisions still are for affording him advice and administrative assistance, what the public expects of him and how the constitutional arrangements for control over him operate in practice. Let no one write this book off as unimportant because of its brevity. It is one of the most intimate and human accounts ever published to show the overwhelming difficulties of the presidential office, and the great disparity in this age of giant government between the unavoidable duties and the public expectations of the presidency on the one hand, and the limited personal resources and staff aids of the President on the other. There is insight and wisdom on every page. One could only wish that the author had put even more of his personal observations on the Presidents he knew into these pages.

WILLIAM ANDERSON, *University of Minnesota*

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Edited by *Raymond Dennett* and *Robert K. Turner*. Volume IX, JANUARY 1–DECEMBER 31, 1947. (Princeton, Princeton University Press for World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1949, pp. xxxii, 759, $6.00.) Volume IX of *Documents on American Foreign Relations* completes the transition begun in Volume VIII (*American Historical Review*, LIV, 640) from a July 1–June 30 coverage to one corresponding to the calendar year. The main divisions of the 1947 volume differ little from those in Volume VIII. "The Termination of the War" disappears. "American Policy toward Former Enemy States" gives place to "Occupation Policy." There is a new chapter captioned "Economic Reconstruction and Development." The only other innovation in the major headings is in that of chapter XVI, where "Africa" is added to the "Europe and Western Asia" of Volume VIII. A brief item on the Union of South Africa justifies the change. As might be expected, documents on the Marshall Plan and the occupation of Germany fill many pages. Other items, picked more or less at random from the comprehensive store here collected, relate to unification of the armed services; the establishment of the Interim Committee of the General Assembly of the U. N.; the Trusteeship Agreement for the former Japanese Mandated Islands; the establishment of the South Pacific Commission; the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance signed at Buenos Aires; the Military Assistance Agreement with the Philippines; the initiation of the Greek-Turkish Aid Program; the U. N. recommendation for the partition of Palestine. This brief list gives some idea of the variety of the material packed into over seven hundred

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

closely printed pages. The selection of documents for inclusion has been handled with skill, and the editing, as in earlier volumes, has been competently performed. Mistakes appear to be extremely few. One error is the listing of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development under the heading "Educational, Scientific and Cultural" in a list of international organizations in which the United States participates. An analytical table of contents and a good index contribute to the usefulness of the volume. JULIUS W. PRATT, *University of Buffalo*

ARTICLES

LUTHER H. EVANS. The Preservation of the Documentation on the History of the Americas. *Lib. of Cong. Quar. Jour.*, Nov., 1949.

R. D. W. CONNOR. FDR Visits the National Archives. *Am. Archivist*, Oct., 1949.

HENRY J. BROWNE. A Plan of Organization for a University Archives. *Ibid.*

GASTON LITTON. Good Homes and Newer Uses for Old Records. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Autumn, 1949.

RICHARD G. WOOD. Librarian-in-Arms: The Career of John G. Stephenson. *Library Quar.*, Oct., 1949.

MAX LERNER. History and American Greatness. *Am. Quar.*, Fall, 1949.

JOHN C. APPEL. Regionalism and American History. *Social Educ.*, Nov., 1949.

CLIFFORD L. LORD. The Significance of State and Local History. *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1950.

PHILIP D. JORDAN. History and Folklore. *Ibid.*

WILLIAM MILLER. American Historians and the Business Elite. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Nov., 1949.

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. Notes on Writing Naval (not Navy) English. *Am. Neptune*, Jan., 1949.

C. CARROLL HOLLIS. Brownson on George Bancroft. *South Atlantic Quar.*, Jan., 1950.

MERLE CURTI. A Great Teacher's Teacher [James Riley Weaver, De Pauw Univ., and Charles A. Beard]. *Social Educ.*, Oct., 1949.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON. Charles A. Beard: A Memoir. *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, Autumn, 1949.

BERNARD C. BORNING. The Political Philosophy of Young Charles A. Beard. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Dec., 1949.

GEORGE F. CARTER. Evidence for Pleistocene Man in Southern California. *Geog. Rev.*, Jan., 1950.

KENNETH CROFT. Graphic Mechanisms of Communication in Native North America. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, Dec., 1949.

FRANK WEITENKAMPF. Early Pictures of North American Indians: A Question of Ethnology. *Bull. New York Pub. Lib.*, Dec., 1949.

KENNETH CHORLEY. Colonial Williamsburg. *Am. Heritage*, Winter, 1950.

ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON. Colonial Craftsmen. *Ibid.*

M. V. BREWINGTON. The Sailmaker's Gear. *Am. Neptune*, Oct., 1949.

HANS KURATH. The American Languages. *Scientific Am.*, Jan., 1950.

WARREN GUTHRIE. The Development of Rhetorical Theory in America, 1635–1850. *Speech Monographs*, Aug., 1949.

DOROTHY A. NEUHOFF. Christmas in Colonial America. *Social Stud.*, Dec., 1949.

BEVERLY MCANEAR. The Selection of an Alma Mater by Pre-Revolutionary Students. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Oct., 1949.

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. Thomas Hutchinson and the Framing of the Albany Plan of Union, 1754. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1950.

JULIAN P. BOYD. The Disputed Authorship of the Declaration on the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms, 1775. *Ibid.*

GERALD S. GRAHAM. Considerations on the War of American Independence. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, May, 1949.

GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB. The American Revolution in the Political Theory of Lord Acton. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Dec., 1949.

HENRY P. BEERS. British Commanders in Chief in North America 1754–1783 [location of papers]. *Military Affairs*, Summer, 1949.

FREDERICK S. ALDRIDGE. The Marine Regiment of Marblehead Fishermen [1775–76]. *Marine Corps Gazette*, Jan., 1950.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOWARD I. CHAPELLE. The Design of the American Frigates of the Revolution and Joshuah Humphreys. *Am. Neptune,* July, 1949.

GLENN WEAVER. The German Reformed Church and the Civil Government (1787–1855). *Pennsylvania Hist.,* Oct., 1949.

JAMES T. FLEXNER. The Scope of Painting in the 1790's. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.,* Jan., 1950.

H. PAUL CAEMMERER. The Establishment of the Seat of the National Government in the District of Columbia. *South Atlantic Quar.,* Jan., 1950.

FREDERICK B. TOLLES. Unofficial Ambassador: George Logan's Mission to France, 1798. *William and Mary Quar.,* Jan., 1950.

ALEXANDER TARSAIDZE. John Quincy Adams in Russia [cont.]. *Russia* (New York), Aug., 1949.

H. PHILIP SPRATT. Pioneer Transatlantic Paddle Steamers. *Am. Neptune,* Oct., 1949.

ROY F. NICHOLS. Diplomacy in Barbary [1815–30]. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.,* Jan., 1950.

ABRAHAM G. DUKER. Polish Political Emigrés in the United States and the Jews, 1833–1865. *Pubs. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.,* Dec., 1949.

C. BRUCE STAIGER. Abolitionism and the Presbyterian Schism of 1837–1838. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* Dec., 1949.

JEROME W. GROLLMAN. The Emergence of Reform Judaism in the United States. *Am. Jewish Archives,* Jan., 1950.

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK. American Indifference to Basic Science during the Nineteenth Century. *Archives internat. d'hist. des sciences,* no. 5, 1948.

Id. The American Physician in 1846 and in 1946: A Study in Professional Contrasts. *Jour. Am. Medical Assoc.,* May 31, 1947.

Id. Quackery and Sectarianism in American Medicine. *Scalpel,* May, 1949.

LOUIS C. JONES. Practitioners of Folk Medicine. *Bull. Hist. Medicine,* Sept.–Oct., 1949.

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK. The Relations of Medicine to Society in the 1840's. *Social Medicine: Its Derivations and Objectives,* New York, 1949.

EUGENE P. LINK. Abraham and Mary P. Jacobi, Humanitarian Physicians. *Jour. Hist. Medicine and Allied Sci.,* Autumn, 1949.

BRENDAN C. MCNALLY. The American Newspaper of the Early Nineteenth Century. *Hist. Bull.,* Nov., 1949.

JAMES F. MARSHALL. Stendhal and America. *French Am. Rev.,* Oct.–Dec., 1949.

JAY C. HEINLEIN. Albert Gallatin: A Pioneer in Public Administration. *William and Mary Quar.,* Jan., 1950.

ETHELIND MUNROE BUTTERFIELD. American Political Songs [1800–1948]. *New York Hist.,* Oct., 1949.

MAX M. MINTZ. Political Ideas of Martin Van Buren. *Ibid.*

THOMAS R. LEWIS. Thomas H. Benton's Analysis of His Audience. *Quar. Jour. of Speech,* Dec., 1949.

DONALD W. MITCHELL. Abel Upshur, Forgotten Prophet of the Old Navy. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.,* Dec., 1949.

EDWARD S. WALLACE. The United States Army in Mexico City. *Military Affairs,* Fall, 1949.

WILLIAM A. BRYAN. George Washington: Symbolic Guardian of the Republic, 1850–1861. *William and Mary Quar.,* Jan., 1950.

DAVID RANKIN BARBEE. The Musical Mr. Lincoln. *Abraham Lincoln Quar.,* Dec., 1949.

LEROY H. FISCHER. Lincoln's Gadfly—Adam Gurowski. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* Dec., 1949.

WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW. Some New Light on Fremont's Nomination at Cleveland in 1864. *Lincoln Herald,* Oct., 1949.

JAY MONAGHAN. The Growth of Abraham Lincoln's Influence in Literature since His Death. *Ibid.*

ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR. DuPont, Dahlgren, and the Civil War Nitre Shortage. *Military Affairs,* Fall, 1949.

R. GERALD MCMURTRY. The Life and Career of John L. Worden. *Lincoln Herald,* Oct., 1949.

GEORGE L. CHERRY. American Metropolitan Press Reaction to the Paris Commune of 1871. *Mid-Am.,* Jan., 1950.

LOUIS MORTON. Defense of the Philippines during the War Scare of 1907. *Military Affairs,* Summer, 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IVOR D. SPENCER. U. S. Naval Air Bases from 1914 to 1939. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Nov., 1949.
HANSON W. BALDWIN. Our Worst Blunders in the War. *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan., Feb., 1950.
R. C. WILLIAMS, JR. Amphibious Scouts and Raiders. *Military Affairs*, Fall, 1949.
PAUL F. LAZARSFELD. The American Soldier: An Expository Review. *Public Opinion Quar.*, Fall, 1949.
MARTIN F. HERZ. Leaflet Propaganda in World War II. *Ibid.*
RAY S. CLINE and MAURICE MATLOFF. Development of War Department Views on Unification [1943]. *Military Affairs*, Summer, 1949.
NEWTON EDWARDS. Population Changes in the United States. *Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. and Social Sci.*, Sept., 1949.
MILTON MAYER. The Dogged Retreat of the Doctors [A.M.A.]. *Harper's Mag.*, Dec., 1949.
HAROLD M. GROVES. A General Appraisal of the American Tax Problem. *Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. and Social Sci.*, Nov., 1949.
CECILIA VAN AUKEN. The Negro Press in the 1948 Presidential Election. *Journalism Quar.*, Dec., 1949.
ADOLF KELLER. Amerika als Erfahrung. *Hesperia* (Zurich), Apr., 1949.

DOCUMENTS

HOWARD DOUGHTY. Parkman's Dark Years: Letters to Mary Dwight Parkman. *Harvard Lib. Bull.*, Winter, 1950.
WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH. William Trent Calls on Benjamin Franklin [1769]. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Jan., 1950.
CARL VAN DOREN. Three Letters to Benjamin Franklin [1782–83]. *Ibid.*
GERSHOM BRADFORD. The Trials of an Unarmed Brig [1807–1808]. *Am. Neptune*, Jan., 1949.
ROY F. NICHOLS. The Mystery of the Dallas Papers: Diary and Letters of George M. Dallas (Part II) [1848–49]. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Oct., 1949.

NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

A RHODE ISLAND CHAPLAIN IN THE REVOLUTION: LETTERS OF EBENEZER DAVID TO NICHOLAS BROWN, 1775–1778. Edited by *Jeannette D. Black* and *William Greene Roelker*. (Providence, Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati; Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, 1949, pp. xxxi, 82, $5.00.) The young man who wrote the letters here published was graduated from Rhode Island College (now Brown University) in 1772. While at the college he had become acquainted with Nicholas Brown, prominent merchant of Providence, who, along with his brothers, had been largely instrumental in bringing the college to the town. The letters attest to the hospitality and kindness which the older man had shown to the young student, and they indicate the strong friendship which had developed between them in spite of the disparity in their ages. The *Army Return* for January 1, 1776, listed Ebenezer David as chaplain of two regiments of the recently organized Continental Army, then engaged in the siege of Boston. Later he ministered to the spiritual needs of the troops at New York and Brooklyn, at Ticonderoga, in the Hudson River highlands, at the defense of the Delaware River forts, and at Valley Forge. Meanwhile, however, he found time "to study anatomy when not engaged" in other ways. After supplementing this home study by a brief apprenticeship with a Providence physician while on leave from the troops, he transferred to the medical service of the army early in 1778. Assigned to a hospital at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, he died within two months of "a tedious putrid Fever," a term then used to describe typhus. All but two of the twenty letters were written at the front and are descriptive of military operations. Although they will necessitate no modification of established views of the war, they provide fresh and interesting corroborative evidence for accounts, official and unofficial, previously known. With great skill, and from very fragmentary records, Miss Black has reconstructed the prewar career of young David; and she "has," as Lawrence Wroth says

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the preface, "filled in the gaps between the letters with connective material at once concise and illuminating." This handsome little volume is a distinct and welcome contribution to the story of Rhode Island in the War for Independence.

JAMES B. HEDGES, *Brown University*

THE STORY OF BAR HARBOR: AN INFORMAL HISTORY RECORDING ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS IN THE LIFE OF A COMMUNITY. By *Richard Walden Hale, Jr.* (New York, Ives Washburn, 1949, pp. 259, $3.00.) We have here a real biography of a town. Unlike many town histories it is not a mere collection of undigested documents, long genealogies toadying to certain families, or a mass of traditions of more than unreliable historical value. Mr. Hale, in fascinating and lucid narrative, tells a straightforward story of how a Maine seacoast town which started as a fishing and lumbering community became, through the co-operation of its citizens in developing its natural resources, one of the social capitals of the world, so important that when fire threatened its destruction the story made the front page of the Paris dailies and natives of New Guinea sent contributions to aid in its rehabilitation. Bar Harbor was fortunate in finding a trained historian, Richard Walden Hale, jr., to tell its story. His careful scholarship is evident in the immense amount of research necessary to unravel the contradictions of ancient narratives and tell a plain story of the early voyages. It was even more difficult to trace the unsuccessful attempts of the early Englishmen and Frenchmen to establish a "forest feudalism" on the island. But, where Sieur de la Mothe Cadillac and Sir Francis Bernard failed, the plain people of the Maine cost—the Higginses, Salisburys, Hamors, and others—founded permanent homes, and it is with them that the real history of the town begins. It was they and their sons and daughters who through common discussion and co-operation by means of that "microcosm of American democracy," the town meeting, developed their home town and achieved for it a national reputation. While shipbuilding and lumbering were the chief support of the people, Thomas Cole and other leaders in American art discovered the beauties of the island, lived among them, and spread widely their enthusiastic appreciation of them. People began to think of Bar Harbor as a good place to go. Its growth was rapid and steady. First came the summer boarder, then cottagers, then the great hotels and summer colonies where men and women whose names were known internationally enjoyed every luxury. The years from 1866 to 1887 saw the town transformed from a field to a first-class resort and its name become a "by-word for wealth at ease." Despite such obstacles as the great fire of 1947, vividly described by Mr. Hale, Bar Harbor is still Bar Harbor. Not only has the author told its story with accuracy and zest but he has gone beyond it to give us a valuable economic study of the development of the Maine coast as a vacationland.

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON ROWE, *Yarmouth, Maine*

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF HARTFORD'S *COURANT:* FROM COLONIAL TIMES THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR. By *J. Eugene Smith.* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949, pp. 342, $5.00.) In these days when all literature must be written for the common mind if it is not to be classed as "fascist," it is heartening to encounter a work that is quite plainly intended for the scholar. *One Hundred Years of Hartford's* Courant (the first hundred), by J. Eugene Smith, is an invaluable *vade mecum* for the student. Guided by Arthur M. Schlesinger of Harvard University, Dr. Smith has worked out this introduction to one of New England's chief historical sources, America's oldest continuous newspaper. Primarily it gives the story of the journal itself in terms of its editors from Thomas Green, the founder, through Thomas M. Day, its Civil War proprietor. The journal's story is not, however, the major in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terest. Mr. Smith essays a social history of the entire century to furnish an outline of its major records—local, state, national, and international—and he illuminates the story with ample source excerpts from the paper's files. It is an extremely interesting and a highly informative account, one that throws much light upon the value of editorial influence in the formation of public opinion. The editors of the *Courant* were men of strong convictions, but they were competing with other creators of the public will fully as strong-minded and provided with equally strategic forums from which to disseminate their beliefs, notably the entrenched clergy and the vigorously emergent industrialists and capitalists. Dr. Smith finds the *Courant* a fairly successful champion of causes though he chronicles nearly as many editorial defeats as successes. It is unfortunate that the book carries such an inadequate index, only eleven pages, while its bibliography claims but two. For scholars these are serious defects. Finally, Mr. Smith pays relatively little attention to foreign news in which the *Courant* is notably rich.

EDWARD F. HUMPHREY, *Trinity College*

NIAGARA COUNTRY. By *Lloyd Graham.* [American Folkways.] (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949, pp. xiii, 321, $3.50.) This new addition to the "American Folkways" series, edited by Erskine Caldwell, presents much of the lore of one of America's most romantic regions in easily readable form. While the historian will still turn to the volumes written or edited for the Buffalo Historical Society by Frank H. Severance, particularly his own two-volume *An Old Frontier of France,* for an authoritative account of the early history of this region, the general reader will find Lloyd Graham's *Niagara Country* convenient and informative. Even the historian will discover much here that is not easily accessible elsewhere, especially in chapter VI, where some of the more recent lore of the river and the falls—that of the honeymooners, the rope-walkers, the barrel-riders and rum-runners—is assembled. Although Mr. Graham depicts the Niagara country as surcharged with conflict and excitement, he fails to suggest the bitterly conflicting interpretations which have grown up around many of the dramatic incidents he records. Moreover the absence of bibliographical notes and the presence of occasional errors of fact justify the scholar's impulse to relax and enjoy the amusement to be derived from a fairly rich compilation of good yarns.

BLAKE MCKELVEY, *Rochester, New York*

EMPIRE OIL: THE STORY OF OIL IN NEW YORK STATE. By *John P. Herrick.* (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1949, pp. xx, 474, $5.00.) This book is about Empire Oil in the Empire State of New York. It is difficult to conceive of New York as being an oil-producing state, and, indeed, it is not if we compare it with Texas, California, and other oil-producing states of our Greater Southwest. Up to the present time New York has produced but a little more than 170,000,000 barrels of crude oil while the Texas output has been 11,242,000,000 barrels and that of California 7,600,000,000 barrels (up to 1947). The Greater Seminole area of Oklahoma, only one of this state's important oil-producing regions, since 1926 has produced more then ten times as much oil as the total New York output. New York's oil sands are in the upper division of the Devonian zone, and center primarily in Cattaraugus and Allegany counties, where shallow wells, near the surface, are drilled in the formation's up-dip. Deeper wells are farther south, near the Pennsylvania border, where higher elevations and the oil formation's southerly dip combine to make deeper drilling necessary. The oil sands are generally lenticular and vary from ten to seventy feet in thickness. John P. Herrick's *Empire Oil* is a popular narrative of early oil and gas discoveries, production, and refining in New York. The author, in chapter I, assumes the ambitious task of tracing oil history "From Antiquity to Allegany." Then he serves his readers a miscellany of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subjects—oil pools of Cattaraugus and Allegany counties and minor oil-producing counties; early prospecting; nitroglycerin in the oil industry; pipe lines; tankage; refineries; secondary recovery; natural gas operations; oil field personalities; numerous minor subjects under the title "Highlights and Sidelights"; and a final chapter on geology. *Empire Oil* suffers from a lack of integration and from poor perspective. For example, 35 of its 456 pages are devoted to "Nitroglycerin in the Oil Industry," while the reader will look in vain for oil's cumulative impact on the Empire State. Such important themes as geophysical prospecting, scientific drilling, modern refining, and transportation are given little or no consideration. The book's endpaper map, twenty-three illustrations, and index add to its usefulness; and its attractive jacket and cover designs and clear type-face reveal the good work of its publisher.

CARL COKE RISTER, *University of Oklahoma*

ARTICLES

WILLIAM N. FENTON and ERNEST STANLEY DODGE. An Elm Bark Canoe in the Peabody Museum of Salem. *Am. Neptune,* July, 1949.

DAVID S. EDELSTEIN. Joel Munsell: Printer and Bibliographer. *Papers Bibliog. Soc. of Am.,* 4th quar., 1949.

BYRON FAIRCHILD. A Sea of Troubles: The Voyage of *Bonetta,* 1718. *Am. Neptune,* Apr., 1949.

ERNEST STANLEY DODGE. The Last Days of Coasting on Union River Bay [1920–30]. *Ibid.,* July, 1949.

JOHN W. KING. Dr. John Pomeroy and the College of Medicine of the University of Vermont. *Jour. Hist. Medicine and Allied Sci.,* Autumn, 1949.

Id. Medical Education in Vermont. *Vermont Quar.,* Oct., 1949.

EDWIN C. ROZWENC. Agriculture and Politics in the Vermont Tradition. *Ibid.*

MURRAY G. LAWSON. The Boston Merchant Fleet of 1753. *Am. Neptune,* July, 1949.

HJALMAR RUED HOLAND. The Newport Tower: Norse or English? *Am. Scandinavian Rev.,* Autumn, 1949.

HILLMAN METCALF BISHOP. Why Rhode Island Opposed the Federal Constitution. *Rhode Island Hist.,* Apr., July, Oct., 1949.

THOMAS DUNBABIN. First Rhode Islander in Tasmania [1804]. *Ibid.,* July, 1949.

HORACE G. BELCHER. Mr. Tambo and Mr. Bones: Rhode Island in Negro Minstrelsy. *Ibid.,* Oct., 1949.

L. H. BUTTERFIELD. Judge William Cooper (1754–1809). *New York Hist.,* Oct., 1949.

MARY MOORE. Advertising Cards of the 80's in Upstate New York. *Ibid.*

BLAKE MCKELVEY. Rochester and the Erie Canal. *Rochester Hist.,* July, 1949.

Id. Rochester at the Turn of the Century. *Ibid.,* Jan., 1950.

FREDERIC F. VAN DE WATER. Glimpses of Champlain History. *Am. Heritage,* Sept., 1949.

RICHARD C. HASKETT. William Paterson, Attorney General of New Jersey. *William and Mary Quar.,* Jan., 1950.

HERBERT BOYCE SATCHER. Music of the Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church,* Dec., 1949.

WYNDHAM MILES. Notes on Some Early Chemistry Books Published in Pennsylvania. *Isis.,* Nov., 1949.

NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT. The Mystery of Pennsylvania's Royal Charter. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.,* Oct., 1949.

WILLIAM L. FISK, JR. The Diary of John Cuthbertson, Missionary to the Covenanters of Colonial Pennsylvania [1751–91]. *Ibid.*

SARAH P. STETSON. The Philadelphia Sojourn of Samuel Vaughan [1782–90]. *Ibid.*

HENRY J. CADBURY. Another Child to William and Gulielma Penn. *Ibid.,* Jan., 1950.

LAWRENCE C. WROTH. Joshua Fisher's "Chart of Delaware Bay and River" [1756]. *Ibid.*

NEGLEY K. TEETERS. The Early Days of the Eastern State Penitentiary at Philadelphia. *Pennsylvania Hist.,* Oct., 1949.

NORMAN B. WILKINSON. Current Writings on Pennsylvania. *Ibid.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARY AUGUSTA HUEBENER. Bicentennial History of the Lititz Moravian Congregation. *Trans. Moravian Hist. Soc.*, XV, Pts. 3 and 4.

ALFRED P. JAMES. Western Pennsylvania the Military School of George Washington. *Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag.*, Mar.–June, 1949.

EDWARD EVERETT. Jeffersonian Democracy and the *Tree of Liberty* [Pittsburgh newspaper, 1800–1803]. *Ibid.*

C. STANTON BELFOUR. Charles Brewer, Mid-Nineteenth Century Philanthropist. *Ibid.*

LESTER L. HALE. Dr. James Rush—Psychologist and Voice Scientist. *Quar. Jour. of Speech,* Dec., 1949.

ALFRED GEMMELL. Dale Iron Works—Dale Furnace, 1791–1822; Dale Forge, 1804–1868. *Hist. Rev. Berks County* [Pennsylvania], July, 1949.

DAVID Q. VOIGT. The Home Front during the Civil War. *Ibid.*

JOHN R. EVANS. The Reading Artillerists in the Mexican War. *Ibid.*, Oct., 1949.

ALFRED GEMMELL. On the Trail of America's First Cook Stove. *Ibid.*

CARL W. DREPPERD. The Franklin Stove. *Am. Heritage,* Winter, 1950.

PAUL H. GIDDENS. Birth of the Oil Industry. *Ibid.*

THOMAS D. COPE. Mason and Dixon—English Men of Science. *Delaware Notes,* 22d Series, 1949.

DOCUMENTS

MARGARET KINARD. John Usher's Report on the Northern Colonies, 1698. *William and Mary Quar.*, Jan., 1950.

WILLIAM G. ROELKER and CLARKSON A. COLLINS, 3d. The Patrol of Narragansett Bay (1774–76) [cont.]. *Rhode Island Hist.*, July, 1949.

A Religious Revival in Reading, 1829 [Charles G. Finney]. *Hist. Rev. Berks County* [Pennsylvania], Oct., 1949.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

J. L. M. CURRY: SOUTHERNER, STATESMAN, AND EDUCATOR. By *Jessie Pearl Rice*. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1949, pp. xii, 242, $3.50.) Jabez L. M. Curry had a varied career. Born in Georgia in the early nineteenth century, educated at the University of Georgia and at the Harvard Law School, he moved as a young man to Alabama, where he became a lawyer and planter. He served a few terms in the Alabama legislature, and when Alabama seceded and joined the Confederacy he was elected a member of the Confederate house of representatives. Being defeated for reelection he joined Stuart's cavalry and served in the Confederate army to the end of the war. After the war he was ordained a Baptist minister and soon was elected president of Howard College. In 1868 he moved to Virginia to accept a professorship in Richmond College, which he held until 1881 when he was selected general agent of the Peabody Fund. When Cleveland became President in 1885, he offered Curry the ministership to Spain. Curry accepted and spent the next three years in Europe. Resigning and returning to America he resumed his general agency of the Peabody Fund and soon was given charge also of the administration of the Slater Fund. He died in 1903. Curry's significance in history lies in his broad interests and strong personality, which fitted him to aid in the religious and educational developments of his times. He was a forceful orator and a successful administrator. Thus it was that he was given control of the two great educational endowments set up by Northerners to aid education in the South. Though he had been a secessionist and a loyal Southerner (and was always to remain the latter), his broad-minded sympathies led him to champion the education of Negroes as well as whites. Miss Rice has portrayed Curry well in this biography, the second one to have been written on Curry. She has enriched her work with a great many personal details and has not neglected the background of the times, though she might have done more of the latter without un-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

balancing her account. With a vast amount of personal papers of Curry with which to work, Miss Rice might easily have expanded her book. The reader is made conscious often of the effort to compress material which might well have been extended—a fact which leads to a choppy style now and then. As Miss Rice says, it would have been easier to write two volumes than one. Curry deserves at least more than this slim volume. Though there are a few insignificant errors (as Richard Rowan Helper for Hinton Rowan Helper and Gustavus I. Orr for Gustavus J. Orr), the book is scholarly and well done.

E. MERTON COULTER, *University of Georgia*

THE LETTERS OF ROBERT MACKAY TO HIS WIFE, WRITTEN FROM PORTS IN AMERICA AND ENGLAND, 1795–1816. Introduction and Notes by *Walter Charlton Hartridge*. [Published under the auspices of the Georgia Society of the Colonial Dames of America.] (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1949, pp. xxxi, 325, $4.00.) This volume of 105 letters of Robert Mackay and his wife, Eliza McQueen, presents an interesting picture of the business and social life of a prominent Savannah merchant and his family over the period from 1795 to 1816. That life, however, was by no means confined to Savannah, for included are letters from St. Mary's, then a place of importance on the coast, Nassau, Little Ealing, London, Cheltenham, Charleston, Norfolk, Amelia Island, New York, Saratoga Springs, and Philadelphia. Also, he and his family lived in England from 1806 to 1810. Nor, in spite of his importance in the business life of his community, are they chiefly concerned with that aspect of Mackay's career. That is treated only incidentally. They deal chiefly with the people with whom he and his wife were associated. The letters are unusually interesting. Mackay possessed to a high degree power of description in few words, which, combined with his quiet but keen humor and sarcasm—usually gentle, however—make them serve to introduce to the reader many of the leading figures of Savannah who gave to the place the stamp of culture and of charm which it has retained to a striking degree even—to employ a description which they would certainly have endorsed—in these "degenerate days." The importance of the volume cannot be measured alone by the historical value of the letters themselves. Mr. Hartridge, some years ago, in his *Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Wife,* gave striking evidence of distinguished ability as an editor of historical documents, and his all too brief introduction and his scholarly footnotes to this volume, in addition to performing their normal function, are a contribution in themselves. A foreword by Mrs. Elfrida DeRenne Barrow adds additional information concerning the Mackay family, and particularly of Mrs. Elizabeth Mackay Screven, to whom the volume is appropriately dedicated.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON, *University of North Carolina*

ARTICLES

DONALD L. KEMMERER. The Pre-Civil War South's Leading Crop, Corn. *Agric. Hist.*, Oct., 1949.

RICHARD C. TODD. The Produce Loans: A Means of Financing the Confederacy. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1950.

W. H. BAUGHN. Capital Formation and Entrepreneurship in the South. *Southern Ec. Jour.*, Oct., 1949.

HERMAN JAY BRAUNHUT. Farm Labor Wage Rates in the South, 1909–48. *Ibid.*

JAMES J. PARSONS. Recent Industrial Development in the Gulf South. *Geog. Rev.*, Jan., 1950.

ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON. Yachting in Chesapeake Bay, 1676–1783. *Am. Neptune,* July, 1949.

Id. New Light on the Evolution of the Chesapeake Clipper-Schooner. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1949.

RICHARD L. MORTON. The Reverend Hugh Jones: Lord Baltimore's Mathematician. *William and Mary Quar.*, Jan., 1950.

NELSON WAITE RIGHTMYER. The Character of the Anglican Clergy of Colonial Maryland. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, Dec., 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN. The Transition in Maryland Architecture [1680's]. *Ibid.*

TENCH FRANCIS TILGHMAN. An Early Victorian College, St. John's, 1830–1860. *Ibid.*

JOEL SAYRE. Washington. *Holiday,* Feb., 1950.

HENRY J. BROWNE. Pioneer Days at the Catholic University of America. *Cath. Educ. Rev.,* Jan., 1950.

LANDON C. BELL. Albemarle Parish. *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.,* Jan., 1950.

G. MACLAREN BRYDON. Random Gleanings from the Virginia Gazette. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church,* Dec., 1949.

MAURER MAURER. The Library of a Colonial Musician [Cuthbert Ogle], 1755. *William and Mary Quar.,* Jan., 1950.

RAYMOND V. MARTIN, JR. Eminent Virginian—a Study of John Beckley. *West Virginia Hist.,* Oct., 1949–Jan., 1950.

JOHN ANTHONY CARUSO. The Coal & Coke Railway Company of West Virginia. *Ibid.,* Jan.

WILLIAM N. CHAMBERS. As the Twig Is Bent: The Family and the North Carolina Years of Thomas Hart Benton, 1752–1801. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.,* Oct., 1949.

THOMAS E. BLADES and JOHN W. WIKE. Career of a Flag [12th Infantry, Mexican War]. *Ibid.*

ADELAIDE L. FRIES. One Hundred Years of Textiles in Salem [1766–1867]. *Ibid.,* Jan., 1950.

LUCY LEINBACK WENHOLD. The Salem Boarding School between 1802 and 1822. *Ibid.*

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS. A Letter from the Muses: The Publication and Critical Reception of James M. Legare's "Orta-Undis, and Other Poems" (1848). *Ibid.,* Oct., 1949.

MARCUS W. PRICE. Blockade Running as a Business in South Carolina during the War between the States, 1861–1865. *Am. Neptune,* Jan., 1949.

T. CONN BRYAN. The Churches in Georgia during the Civil War. *Georgia Hist. Quar.,* Dec., 1949.

EDMUND CODY BURNETT. The Hog Drivers' Play-Song and Some of Its Relatives. *Agric. Hist.,* July, 1949.

THOMAS B. ALEXANDER. Kukluxism in Tennessee, 1865–1869. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.,* Sept., 1949.

JOHN R. WELSH. George F. Mellen: A Versatile Tennesseean. *Ibid.*

ERNST C. KROHN. *The Missouri Harmony* [Hymnal, 1820]. *Bull. Missouri Hist. Soc.,* Oct., 1949.

The St. Louis Merchants' Exchange Collection. *Ibid.*

GEORGE F. LEMMER. The Agricultural Program of a Leading Farm Periodical, *Colman's Rural World. Agric. Hist.,* Oct., 1949.

HEATH PROCTOR. An Airline Pilot Rides the [Santa Fe] Wagon Trail. *Popular Mechanics Mag.,* Jan., 1950.

WILLIAM DUSENBERRY. Constitutions of Early and Modern American Stock Growers' Associations. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.,* Jan., 1950.

HARRY RANSOM. A Renaissance Gentleman in Texas: Notes on the Life and Library of Swante Palm. *Ibid.*

DAN FERGUSON. The Antecedents of Austin College. *Ibid.*

DOCUMENTS

Letters of Francis Scott Key [1790–1833]. *Maryland Hist. Mag.,* Dec., 1949.

CHARLES A. JOHNSON. A Baltimore Circuit Camp Meeting, October, 1806. *Ibid.*

SUSANNE H. FREUND and ALICE B. KEITH. Prince Bernhard's Travels in the Carolinas, December, 1825. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.,* Oct., 1949.

WILLIAM EDWARD FRIPP. Minutes of the Vestry, St. Bartholomew's Parish, 1822–40. *South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag.,* Jan., 1950.

ROBERT WOODWARD BARNWELL, JR. George Harland Hartley's Claim for Losses as a Loyalist. *Ibid.*

LOWELL HARRISON. South Carolina's Educational System in 1822. *Ibid.*

SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY. The Autobiography of William John Grayson [cont.]. *Ibid.*

Minutes of the Executive Council, May 7 through October 14, 1777 (Part I). *Georgia Hist. Quar.,* Dec., 1949.

SUSAN M. KOLLOCK. Letters of the Kollock and Allied Families, 1826–1884 (Part I). *Ibid.*

LILLA M. HAWES. Amelia M. Murray on Slavery—An Unpublished Letter [1855]. *Ibid.*

CHASE C. MOONEY. Some Letters from Dover, Tennessee, 1814 to 1855 [cont.]. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.,* Sept., 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ADA PARIS KLEIN. The Missouri Reader: The Fur Trade (Part III). *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1950.

Mrs. ROBERT S. WITHERS. Letters of a College Boy [William Jewell College, 1850–52]. *Bull. Missouri Hist. Soc.*, Oct., 1949.

ANDREW FOREST MUIR. Diary of a Young Man in Houston, 1838. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Jan., 1950.

M. L. CRIMMINS. Freeman's Report on the Eighth Military Department [1853] [cont.]. *Ibid.*

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

OLD CAHOKIA: A NARRATIVE AND DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE FIRST CENTURY OF ITS HISTORY. Edited by *John Francis McDermott.* [Joseph Desloge Fund, Publication No. 1.] (St. Louis, St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1949, pp. 355, cloth $4.50, paper $3.00.) The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Cahokia, Illinois, the oldest settlement on the Mississippi River, receives commendable recognition in this book. More than forty years ago the late Professor Clarence W. Alvord compiled and edited a distinguished volume embodying the *Cahokia Records,* a pioneer work in which the techniques of historical scholarship were for the first time rigidly applied to the records of an epoch in the history of this almost forgotten center of French culture in the Mississippi Valley. Numerous historical monographs stemmed from that work. The present collection of documents, extending from 1698 to the middle of the nineteenth century, illumines various aspects of the history of Cahokia within limited periods—ecclesiastical, social, political, military, and legal—thus enabling the reader to glimpse something of the life of the community. Professor McDermott's well-documented historical introduction, in chapter one, covering fifty-four pages, is an excellent summary of the history of Cahokia from its origin to its era of decline in the nineteenth century. The history of the Holy Family mission in Illinois is illustrated by some thirteen documents, drawn mainly from the archives of the Seminary of Quebec and edited by the Reverend Joseph P. Donnelly, of St. Louis University. The collection in question includes the basic letters patent (1698) by the bishop of Quebec to the Seminary of Foreign Missions for the establishment of missions among the Tamaroa Indians; and a significant document entitled "Explanation of the Plan and Settlement of the Seigniory of the Mission to the Tamaroa, 12 April 1735." Papers concerning the sale of a dozen Negro slaves and mission real estate by the last of the seminary priests in 1763 are also reproduced. Twenty-four legal documents, falling within the period 1772–1821, edited by Rose Josephine Boylan, of the Illinois bar, depict various aspects of community life, as well as the tangled skein of land title litigation in the village. This section of the book is based principally on the Perry Collection and the St. Clair County archives. The complexity and extent of a businessman's affairs, subsequent to the French period, is depicted in thirty-three letters (1778–79) by Charles Gratiot, contributed by Brenda R. Gieseker, librarian of the Missouri Historical Society. There is a chapter on "Affairs at Fort Bowman, 1778–1780," embodying twenty-seven documents drawn from the Missouri Historical Society Library, edited by Charles Van Ravensway; these papers consist of letters, accounts, muster rolls, receipts, inventories, and similar items pertaining to the occupation of Cahokia by Captain Jacob Bowman. Father Donnelly also contributed a second chapter on "Burial Records of the Holy Family Church, 1784–1794," one of the very interesting sections of the book, and still another contains the correspondence of Dom Urban Guillet with the bishop of Quebec, 1809–1812. The latter set of documents throws much light on the unsuccessful efforts of the Trappist order to establish a permanent monastery near Cahokia. In the last chapter of the book Irving Dilliard, of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* reproduces from the Illinois Supreme Court *Reports* the records of two Cahokia law cases, one in 1845 and the other in 1861;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the subject matter of both cases, however, belongs to the previous century. Many of the papers presented are English translations from the original French. The volume is satisfactorily indexed. More meticulous proofreading, however, would have obviated a number of typographical errors. CLARENCE E. CARTER, *Chevy Chase, Maryland*

THE STORY OF ILLINOIS. By *Theodore Calvin Pease*. [Fiftieth Anniversary Publication of the Illinois State Historical Society.] (Rev. ed.; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1949, pp. xviii, 284, $5.00.) Theodore Calvin Pease's last task before his untimely death was a revision of his long-standard *The Story of Illinois* (Chicago, 1924). A line-by-line comparison of the two editions indicates that necessary changes were kept to a minimum. While occasionally inserting the findings of later scholarship or improving wording, Professor Pease retained the same organization, the same chapters, and even the same space allotment. In the 1924 edition a final chapter on "The Illinois of the Present" dealt with the then current scene; in the 1949 edition the same title is used to embrace developments from 1918 to 1948. Thus the book still leans heavily on the interpretations of Clarence W. Alvord embodied in the *Centennial History of Illinois,* on which the first edition was frankly based. While the resulting book will be of wide use to those unable to obtain a copy of the earlier edition, a fresher interpretation in the light of historical concepts popularized during the past quarter century would have been even more useful. A number of excellent illustrations have been added, but the one map is less helpful than the two in the earlier edition.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON, *Northwestern University*

THE EARTH BROUGHT FORTH: A HISTORY OF MINNESOTA AGRICULTURE TO 1885. By *Merrill E. Jarchow*. [Minnesota Centennial Publications, Number IV.] (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1949, pp. xvi, 314, $3.00.) This aptly titled book by Merrill E. Jarchow, accompanied by an interpretive "Appreciation" by J. O. Christianson and a discriminating, eloquent foreword by Theodore C. Blegen, is an outstanding contribution to our knowledge of the evolution of agriculture in Minnesota. Not a definitive work, it nevertheless is an excellent treatise of which the author and others may well be proud. Imagination, intelligence, artistic taste, and industry have been applied in the production of this well-written, attractive volume. The scope is wide. Among the topics discussed are geology, topography, soil and climate, settlement, free land and railroads, mechanization, wheat, and livestock. There are also sections on dairying, crazes and normal agriculture, and societies and fairs. Two of the best divisions, which are fascinating reading, are "The Farmer's Home" and "Rural Social Life." One misses separate chapters on agriculture among the Indians, lumbering, milling, meatpacking, and the agricultural press, topics only briefly discussed or not at all, inclusion of which would have made the narrative more well rounded. Likewise a critical bibliography on the whole subject would have been most welcome. In general sources used have been those physically available in Minnesota. Within this area, research upon the topics treated has been comprehensive. Unfortunately there are numerous important documents pertaining to agriculture in Minnesota which are located outside the state. There is no indication that these have been consulted. If they had been, the narrative would have been enriched. Included in records which should have been examined are agricultural periodicals published in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and other states. Also the manuscript, printed, and illustrative files of the Library of Congress, United States Department of Agriculture library, McCormick Historical Association, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and like depositories offer much significant material. Favorable comment might be made upon the extensive and effective use of statistics in the text, with reservation upon the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

employment of price figures, unless realistically adjusted to the purchasing power of the dollar, expense of production and marketing, cost of living and other factors. The average reader will approve and the scholar deprecate placing the footnotes at the end of the volume. Of minor importance but requiring eventual correction is carelessness in citation of footnotes which refer to McCormick Company records. It is to be hoped that in subsequent editions Dr. Jarchow will amplify his narrative and will continue its coverage to the present day. This reviewer is pleased that *The Earth Brought Forth* has been written and published. It is a welcome addition to the literature of agricultural history. HERBERT A. KELLAR, *McCormick Historical Association*

HISTORY OF THE WHITE PINE INDUSTRY IN MINNESOTA. By *Agnes M. Larson,* Professor of History and Chairman of the Department of History, St. Olaf College. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1949, pp. xv, 432, $7.50.) "This study," writes Miss Larson in her preface, "was undertaken with the utilitarian purpose of providing a doctoral thesis; but early in my research I saw that here was an opportunity to break new ground in the study of the history of a region." Assistance toward research was granted by the American Association of University Women, the Social Science Research Council, and by the award of a University of Minnesota fellowship in regional writing. The confidence of these agencies was well placed. It is Miss Larson's purpose to give perspective to the white pine in Minnesota's domination, successively, by fur, lumber, and wheat. In 1839 the first commercial mill cut timber in Minnesota and by the early 1930's the saws of the last major mills had been stilled. The interval of nearly a century saw the production of 67,500,000,000 feet of lumber. In the process came stimulation from local sales, from consumers down the Mississippi and on the prairies, and from markets westward by rail and eastward over the Great Lakes. Finally, dwindling Minnesota supplies and competition from South and West led to the industry's decline. Each of these phases receives full treatment. There is great detail on the development of mills and mill towns, and the transportation of lumber and logs by water and railroad. Chronological divisions, roughly at 1870, 1890, and 1900, correspond to the expansion into newly exploited areas from south to north and to the development of new markets, local and distant. Technical changes in mill and woods equipment are recorded clearly and in laymen's terms. Several chapters are devoted wholly or partly to the manner of life of those engaged in logging, river driving, and milling—the resulting portrait is accurately picturesque but devoid of the romantic bawdiness usually associated with loggers and rivermen. The wide and careful use of the interview in research, of which there is ample evidence in the book, is nowhere more effectively shown than in these chapters. Of particular value, and especially clear and cohesive, are the chapters dealing with the operation of national and state laws in the acquisition of timber lands and stumpage in the Minnesota area. The author searched the voluminous but little-used General Land Office records, available earlier in the Department of Interior and now deposited in the National Archives. Here she describes concentration of ownership in timber lands, as elsewhere she describes concentration of ownership and operation in milling and distributing firms. In treating the Morris bill, Miss Larson would find elaboration in Gifford Pinchot's *Breaking New Ground,* a personal rather than a scholarly narrative which may have been unavailable prior to her press date. Miss Larson has made a genuine contribution not only to regional and state history but also to business and conservation history. In depth of research and objectivity she has provided something of a model for those studying the lumber industry of other regions. The index is adequate, and while one wishes that the publishers had included a bibliography, the annotation is complete.
EDMOND S. MEANY, JR., *Mount Hermon School*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WITH VARIOUS VOICES: RECORDINGS OF NORTH STAR LIFE. Edited by *Theodore C. Blegen* and *Philip D. Jordan*. (St. Paul, Webb, 1949, pp. xxiv, 380, $5.00.) The overwhelming size of regional collections and the problem of locating rare publications or unpublished documents makes the publication of an anthology a real service for those who wish a rapid survey. The editors of this volume chose fifty-four items, which they grouped into eleven sections, to portray Minnesota's history from early exploration to 1900. Nearly half of the selections are hitherto unpublished or appeared originally in relatively obscure sources. Those from accounts of several exploring expeditions give an introduction, though brief, to primeval Minnesota. The accounts depicting conflicts of Indians and frontiersmen and pioneer everyday life are more personal and vivid. Editorial comment is supplied at the beginning of each section, but some readers may wish that more specific and detailed explanations had accompanied some of the selections to provide a greater sense of continuity and to indicate significance. One turns rapidly from Greenbacks to jail reform to trade unions to government, which the editors recognize as "Four Significant Problems," but no word is given of later developments resulting from the document one reads or of its significance in the whole history of reform. The frank descriptions of a lumber camp, a wheat farm, life of a school marm, disasters, and religious life written by participants are the real gems of the book. They provide realistic pictures of the Minnesota of their day, and several of them are remarkably delightful reading. Other selections are dull and were apparently selected because the topics they represent were too important to skip, even if poorly described. The task of the anthologist is never easy, and the objective here of portraying the state's history in the original words of contemporary narrators makes the task doubly difficult. Considering their problems the editors have done well to produce so valuable an aid to students of Minnesota history.

EVADENE BURRIS SWANSON, *Ithaca, New York*

FRONTIER JUSTICE. By *Wayne Gard*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1949, pp. xi, 324, $3.75.) Wayne Gard has given us a chronicle of "frontier justice" in which his purpose is to show the gradual evolution from individually administered vengeance by tomahawk and scalping knife to the emergence of law enforcement by regularly constituted courts. The transition was slow and painful, often accompanied by the most unbelievable crimes of retaliation. The wars between so-called "Regulators" and "Moderators" in the republic of Texas; frontier vendettas that continued for years; the bitter conflicts between the sheepmen and the cattlemen; the fence wars on the cattle range between rival stockmen and between hated nesters and the cattle barons are presented in sufficient detail. The extent to which cattlemen were willing to take the law into their own hands is well illustrated in the famous Johnson County war in which the powerful cattle organization of Wyoming conducted an armed invasion into Johnson County. By lead, dynamite, strychnine, and even kerosene for setting fires, the invaders sought to oust the little fellows who were usually labeled rustlers. Such methods actually boomeranged against the perpetrators and won sympathy for their intended victims. The emergence of rough-and-ready justice is seen in the activities of the innumerable vigilance committees in the mining camps of California and the Rocky Mountain region, and on the middlewestern prairies. The need and worth of the vigilance committees is shown by the fact that at times frontier sheriffs were themselves leaders of outlaw gangs, as in the case of the notorious Henry Plummer of Montana. All of this finally led to the triumph of the law, brought about through organizations such as the Texas Rangers, and such marshals and sheriffs as Tom Smith, Wyatt Earp, and Pat Garrett, who liquidated Billy the Kid. Then came justices of the peace who administered law as they understood it, "sagebrush justice"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but with a strong element of justice such as was administered by Roy Dean west of the Pecos. All these crude and informal procedures were a part of the gradual transition culminating in the black-robed justice who was guided by his law books. Mr. Gard has packed a great deal of research into his study; he has gathered details from many both contemporary and secondary sources. His narrative, like any chronicle, introduces a bewildering procession of characters, but the theme is clear and the material is there for the student and reader whose interest lies in this field. An extensive bibliography will assist anyone bent on further research.

W. M. Gewehr, *University of Maryland*

CRAZY HORSE, THE INVINCIBLE OGALALLA SIOUX CHIEF: THE "INSIDE STORIES," BY ACTUAL OBSERVERS, OF A MOST TREACHEROUS DEED AGAINST A GREAT INDIAN LEADER. Edited by *E. A. Brininstool.* (Los Angeles, Wetzel, 1949, pp. 87.) One of the most necessary things for a nation to do is to honor adequately the memory of the people it has wronged. Among the greatest men who have suffered unjustly at the hands of the United States is Crazy Horse, a chief of the Sioux nation. The present volume is devoted to redressing the wrongs that this great Indian endured. As a warrior and a general Crazy Horse is perhaps unsurpassed among Indians. Though a young man when he died, he had defeated Colonel Reynolds at the Powder River, and General Crook at the Rosebud, and had broken Custer's line at the battle of the Little Big Horn. Though undefeated in war and contemptuous of the white man and his ways, Crazy Horse, who loved freedom above all other things, at last consented, for the sake of his suffering people, to live at an Indian agency. This was his undoing. Accidentally or intentionally a false report that he was planning to attack the whites was made to the United States military authorities, Generals Crook and Sheridan. An order was sent to Fort Robinson, Nebraska, near the Red Cloud Agency, where Crazy Horse was living, to arrest the chief and send him a prisoner to the Dry Tortugas, Florida. Unfortunately, treachery was used to lure the great Indian to his doom. When he realized that he was being arrested, Crazy Horse tried to fight his way out and was bayoneted by a sentry. The author calls his death "dastardly murder" and quotes the accounts of the crime written out in detail by several of the leading witnesses.

John Perry Pritchett, *Queens College, New York*

ELDORADO, OR ADVENTURES IN THE PATH OF EMPIRE. By *Bayard Taylor.* Introduction by *Robert Glass Cleland.* [Western Americana.] (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, pp. xxvii, 375, $5.00.) A new edition of this book was a most appropriate way to commemorate California's century under the Stars and Stripes. The editor's introduction, devoted chiefly to the salient facts of the author's life, shows that the young correspondent of the New York *Tribune,* wise beyond his twenty-four years, was equipped both by temperament and by previous experience to report on life in the bay area and the gold fields. The young wanderer left New York by boat for Chagres in June, 1849. Crossing of the Isthmus of Panama he regarded as a little rough but not unduly hazardous. It was on the *Oregon* from Panama to San Francisco that he encountered that rudeness which was conspicuous, but not universal, in the land of quick riches. Four visits to San Francisco during his four months' stay in California enabled him to witness its evolution from a town of tents and shacks to a stable metropolitan community. On the jacket of this edition, the book is called "A sophisticated newspaperman's report of the raw violence and excitement of California in 1849." This scarcely does justice to Taylor's fine perception of a sense of fundamental decency, appreciation of human dignity, and deep-seated respect for law in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the society of the gold fields which he visited in the Mokelumne River and volcano areas. In the camps and as a witness at the Monterey Convention, he gained insight into the workings of "grass roots" democracy. California's dry season did not deceive him as to the state's true agricultural potential. He was favorably impressed with Fremont, Graham, Vallejo, General Riley, and Sutter. Although Cleland regarded Taylor's crossing of Mexico on his homeward journey as a "rash undertaking," the latter did not so consider it. Nowhere was the young traveler's insight more in evidence than his account of the Mexicans, whom he portrayed as a poorly educated but not necessarily a backward people. The "Report of Hon. T. Butler King" to the authorities in Washington which Taylor had appended contributed a few additional facts but not necessarily greater understanding about California. Even the sketchiest of maps would have added much to the usefulness of the book. Its format is beautiful.

HERMAN J. DEUTSCH, *State College of Washington*

THE ROYAL HIGHWAY (EL CAMINO REAL). By *Edwin Corle*. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1949, pp. 351, $4.00.) With the publication of *The Royal Highway* Mr. Corle rounds out an even dozen books, with novels in the majority. The present book is better calculated to entertain than to instruct the serious student. In the sizable bibliography are missing such important names as Hittell, Blackmar, Kroeber, and Nevins. The useful index does not contain "secularization," although much is said about missions; "tourism" is likewise missing. The author makes the coastal route "the core of the history of California"—quite a freight for El Camino Real to carry! Wide varieties of subjects are forced into the pattern that can scarcely be expected to bear the strain. Sir Francis Drake (1579) comes in for an entire chapter; Butterfield's overland mail service and Manila Galleons are a far cry from the Royal Highway. There are references to Sacramento, Salt Lake City, Sitka, and Aimee McPherson! One questions whether the main thesis provides an adequate framework for a story history of California. Changing the figure, the Royal Highway seems to be a very thin thread on which to hang the history of the Golden State. Several inaccuracies and careless statements are noted, such as reference to the St. Francis Hotel in Los Angeles (p. 349), "John J. Warner" for Jonathan Trumbull ("Juan José") Warner (p. 200), "Commander" for Commodore Jones (p. 195), including Sonoma on El Camino Real in 1821 (map opposite p. 82)—the mission was not founded until 1823 (p. 84). A more serious point is that the book appears to have been written more for the movie fan than for the student. The author himself says his subject enables him "to tell in popular guise a great deal of California history." But if he wished to take liberties with his facts he might have written another novel. His style is journalistic, with frequent little "cracks"; his spirit of levity appears, at times, even when dealing with sacred subjects. This glibness, even flippancy, shows to poor advantage when he seems to try to outdo more serious critics in characterizing prominent leaders in California history. One cannot refrain from asking, who is Mr. Corle, and just what has he done, that he can hurl such epithets as "blundering idiot," "emotional fool" at Frémont, whom Nevins calls "The West's Greatest Adventurer"? or that he should lump the men of the Bear Flag party together as "unofficial hoodlums"? or refer to the battle of San Pascual as a "fiasco"? Even in telling the story of California "in popular guise," the author might have exhibited a more sympathetic understanding and refrained from expressions of undeserved disrespect; he would thus have enhanced the value of his book without detracting from its interest.

ROCKWELL D. HUNT, *College of the Pacific*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES

RICHARD HOFSTADTER. Turner and the Frontier Myth. *Am. Scholar,* Autumn, 1949.

C. MERTON BABCOCK. The Social Significance of the Language of the American Frontier. *Am. Speech,* Dec., 1949.

ALVA L. DAVIS and RAVEN I. MCDAVID, JR. "Shivaree": An Example of Cultural Diffusion. *Ibid.*

FREDERICK SIMPICH and JUSTIN LOCKE. So Much Happens along the Ohio River. *Nat'l Geog. Mag.,* Feb., 1950.

CLIFFORD J. WESTERMEIER. The Cowboy and Religion. *Hist. Bull.,* Jan., 1950.

HENRY NASH SMITH. The Western Farmer in Imaginative Literature, 1818–1891. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* Dec., 1949.

JOHN D. HICKS. The Legacy of Populism in the Western Middle West. *Agric. Hist.,* Oct., 1949.

LOIS T. HARTLEY. *The Midland* [literary magazine, 1915–33]. *Iowa Jour. Hist.,* Oct., 1949.

HARRISON JOHN THORNTON. Chautauqua and the Midwest. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.,* Dec., 1949.

ROSS MOFFETT. The Raisch-Smith Site, an Early Indian Occupation in Preble County, Ohio. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.,* Oct., 1949.

CARL WITTKE. Peter Witt, Tribune of the People. *Ibid.*

JOSEPH L. FETTERMAN and JACK HORROCKS. Psychiatric Progress in Ohio in the Twentieth Century. *Ibid.*

S. WINIFRED SMITH. A Survey of Publications in Ohio History, Archaeology, and Natural History, August 1948–July 1949. *Ibid.*

Id. Antioch College. *Museum Echoes of Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Soc.,* Nov., 1949.

Id. Wilberforce University. *Ibid.,* Dec., 1949.

BERT ANSON. Lathrop M. Taylor, the Fur Trader. *Indiana Mag. Hist.,* Dec., 1949.

HOWARD L. BALSLEY. Indiana Iron from Native Ore. *Ibid.*

HERMAN FRED SHERMER. A History of Publishing in Montgomery County, Indiana, 1831–1940. *Ibid.*

OTTO F. WALLS. A History of Social Welfare in Indiana. *Ibid.*

FREDERICK D. KERSHNER, JR. From Country Town to Industrial City: The Urban Pattern in Indianapolis. *Ibid.*

RICHARD B. SEALOCK. A List of References on Indiana History. *Indiana Hist. Bull.,* Nov., 1949.

R. CLYDE FORD. The Reverend James Evans and His Cree Syllabics [1830's]. *Michigan Hist.,* Sept., 1949.

ALBERT F. BUTLER. Rediscovering Michigan's Prairies [1830's, concl.]. *Ibid.*

JOSEPH GEORGE DUNCAN. Literary Content of a Pioneer Michigan Newspaper [*Niles Republican,* 1842–60]. *Ibid.*

HAROLD M. HELFMAN. Party Politics and Michigan Prisons, 1883–85. *Ibid.*

CARRIE CROPLEY. When the Railroads Came to Kenosha. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.,* Dec., 1949.

WILLIAM F. RANEY. Appleton. *Ibid.*

PETER A. MUNCH. Social Adjustment among Wisconsin Norwegians. *Am. Sociol. Rev.,* Dec., 1949.

CHARLES E. SNYDER. Unitarianism in Iowa. *Palimpsest,* Nov., 1949.

ROGER SULLIVAN and J. A. SWISHER. The Dubuque Shot Tower [1856]. *Ibid.,* Dec., 1949.

BEN HUR WILSON. The Plattsmouth Crossing. *Ibid.*

JOSEPH S. SCHICK. The Early Theater in Davenport. *Ibid.,* Jan., 1950.

MILDRED THRONE. The Grange in Iowa, 1868–1875. *Iowa Jour. Hist.,* Oct., 1949.

MARY W. BERTHEL and HAROLD DEAN CATER. The Minnesota Historical Society: Highlights of a Century. *Minnesota Hist.,* Dec., 1949.

ROMAN J. ZORN. Minnesota Public Opinion and the Secession Controversy, December, 1860–April, 1861. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* Dec., 1949.

RODNEY C. LOEHR. Saving the Kerf: The Introduction of the Band Saw Mill. *Agric. Hist.,* July, 1949.

WILLIAM G. RECTOR. From Woods to Sawmill: Transportation Problems in Logging. *Ibid.,* Oct., 1949.

PAUL F. SHARP. The War of the Substitutes: The Reaction of the Forest Industries to the Competition of Wood Substitutes. *Ibid.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GRACE LEE NUTE. Late Frontier. *Am. Heritage,* Winter, 1950.
THEODORE C. BLEGEN. North Star Perspective. *Ibid.*
BERTHA L. HEILBRON. Frontier Artists. *Ibid.*
ROBERT TAFT. The Pictorial Record of the Old West: IX. Alfred R. Waud and Theodore R. Davis. *Kansas Hist. Quar.,* Nov., 1949.
KIRKE MECHEM. "Home on the Range" [history of the song]. *Ibid.*
EDGAR BRUCE WESLEY. Life at Fort Atkinson. *Nebraska Hist.,* Dec., 1949.
THOMAS M. DAVIS. Building the Burlington through Nebraska—A Summary View. *Ibid.*
ARTHUR R. REYNOLDS. Land Frauds and Illegal Fencing in Western Nebraska. *Agric. Hist.,* July, 1949.
RAYMOND E. LINDGREN. The Swedes Come to Utah. *Yearbook Am. Swedish Hist. Foundation,* 1949.
DANA WRIGHT. Military Trails in North Dakota. *North Dakota Hist.,* Oct., 1949.
A. G. BURR. Some Highlights of Bottineau County History. *Ibid.*
HAZEL NOBLE BOYACK. Historic Fort Laramie, the Hub of Early Western History, 1834–1849. *Ann. Wyoming,* July–Oct., 1949.
LOLA HOMSHER. History of Albany County Wyoming to 1880. *Ibid.*
ROBERT E. BELL. Recent Archeological Research in Oklahoma, 1946–1948. *Chron. Oklahoma,* Autumn, 1949.
CAROLYN THOMAS FOREMAN. Dutch [Tahchee], the Cherokee [1790–1848]. *Ibid.*
ELMER CARLSON. The Earlier Swedes in Colorado. *Yearbook Am. Swedish Hist. Foundation,* 1949.
MORRIS EDWARD OPLER and CATHERINE H. OPLER. Mescalero Apache History in the Southwest. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.,* Jan., 1950.
FRANK D. REEVE. Frederick E. Phelps: A Soldier's Memoirs. *Ibid.*
J. N. BOWMAN. The First Authentic Placer Mine in California. *Hist. Soc. Southern California Quar.,* Sept., 1949.
ERNEST CARROLL MOORE. California's Educators. *Ibid.*
HOMER D. CROTTY. The California Constitutional Convention of 1849. *Ibid.*
JAMES M. MERRILL. A Short History of the Los Angeles Steamship Co., 1920–1930. *Am. Neptune,* July, 1949.
DOROTHY O. JOHANSEN. A Tentative Appraisal of Territorial Government in Oregon. *Pacific Hist. Rev.,* Nov., 1949.
J. ORIN OLIPHANT and C. S. KINGSTON. William Emsley Jackson's Diary of a Cattle Drive from La Grange, Oregon, to Cheyenne, Wyoming in 1876. *Agric. Hist.,* Oct., 1949.
WILLIAM A. BAKER. U. S. Light-Vessel No. 50, *Columbia River* [1892–1909]. *Am. Neptune,* Oct., 1949.
THOMAS R. GARTH. A Report on the Second Season's Excavations at Wailatpu [Whitman's Mission]. *Pacific Northwest Quar.,* Oct., 1949.
MARION PEARSALL. Contributions of Early Explorers and Traders to the Ethnography of the Northwest. *Ibid.*
FRANCIS D. HAINES, JR. The Relations of the Hudson's Bay Company with the American Fur Traders in the Pacific Northwest. *Ibid.*
CLARENCE C. HULLEY. A Historical Survey of the Matanuska Valley Settlement in Alaska. *Ibid.*
CARL L. LOKKE. A Madison Man at Nome [George V. Borchsenius]. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.,* Dec., 1949.

DOCUMENTS

FULMER MOOD. Frederick Jackson Turner's Address on Education in a United States without Free Lands. *Agric. Hist.,* Oct., 1949.
HARVEY S. FORD. The Diary of John Beatty, January–June 1884 (Part II). *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.,* Oct., 1949.
LEONARD KOESTER. Latin Farmers in Indiana [autobiography of Mrs. Karl Tafel, 1855–64]. *Indiana Mag. Hist.,* Dec., 1949.
EARL S. POMEROY. Wisconsin in 1847: Notes of John Q. Roods. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.,* Dec., 1949.
GEORGIA DOW TOWNSEND. Letters of James Stark [1841–42]. *Ibid.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Diary of James R. Stewart, Pioneer of Osage County (Part IV, August, 1859–November, 1860) [concl.]. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, Nov., 1949.

DALE L. MORGAN. The Mormon Ferry on the North Platte: The Journal of William A. Empey. *Ann. Wyoming*, July–Oct., 1949.

CARL COKE RISTER and BRYAN W. LOVELACE. A Diary Account of a Creek Boundary Survey, 1850. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Autumn, 1949.

MERRILL J. MATTES. Alexander Ramsay's Gold Rush Diary of 1849. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Nov., 1949.

JOHN FRANCIS MCDERMOTT. Gold Fever: The Letters of "Solitaire," Goldrush Correspondent of '49. *Bull. Missouri Hist. Soc.*, Oct., 1949.

AURORA HUNT. Overland by Boat to California in 1849. *Hist. Soc. Southern California Quar.*, Sept., 1949.

Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham[1]

LATIN AMERICA: A SELECTIVE GUIDE TO PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLISH. By *R. A. Humphreys*. (London and New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1949, pp. viii, 63, $1.50.) Despite the acknowledged limitations of a bibliography restricted to works in English on Latin America this "selective guide to some nine hundred books and publications" is going to be most useful for teacher and general student alike. It contains, often with evaluation, the best known guide material, general works, monographs, and periodicals. An effort has been made to include the most valuable of recently published items. The standard subject organization is followed: geography and native peoples, colonial period, emancipation, national period (institutional and by individual states), and international relations. There is a nice balance between political, economic, social, and cultural interests. There is, also, an appendix containing a list of Foreign Policy Association Reports relating to Latin America.

J. S. C.

SOUTH AMERICA REDISCOVERED. By *Tom B. Jones*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1949, pp. ix, 285, $4.00.) This is a volume which reproduces the impressions, observations, and prejudices left to us in a variety of published travel accounts by visitors to southern South America in the nineteenth century, accounts which, for good or for evil, have been leaned upon heavily for later, serious studies. The material used by Professor Jones is limited, primarily, to that produced by Britishers and North Americans and is concerned with two general periods of the century associated with more favorable conditions in South America and with popular home interest and demand: 1815–30 and 1850–70. The subject matter of the accounts selected is widely scattered, from Amazon spiders and the fashions of Peruvian women to the opening of the *pampa* or copper mining in Chile. There is enough to appeal to any taste or interest. The student of the period will find the bibliography particularly convenient and useful. One word of caution to the general reader, acknowledged by the author, however: the impressions and observations of often-times provincial and homesick travelers represent, frequently, neither objectivity nor the whole story. J. S. C.

THE HORSES OF THE CONQUEST. By *R. B. Cunninghame Graham*. Edited by *Robert Moorman Denhardt*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1949, pp. xvii, 145, $5.00.) This edition of a remarkable book, brought out by an admirer of horses,

[1] Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents, unless otherwise indicated.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

himself author of *The Horse of the Americas,* is in fact the third. First published in London in 1930, it was translated into Spanish and printed in Buenos Aires in 1946. The edition now offered is beautifully printed and superbly illustrated. No pains have been spared by the printer or the artist to create an attractive book. Cunninghame Graham in his inimitable manner makes this noble beast a living character in the great epic of the Spanish conquest of America, a companion and partner in the tragic drama of that heroic age. The author, a delirious lover of horse flesh, could not but be impressed by the significant manner in which this faithful and spirited animal, now almost discarded by our mechanized age, contributed to the subjugation of the native races. The intimate relationship that existed between the rider and his mount, the tender, almost human understanding between man and beast engendered by the sharing of mutual danger, privations, and triumphs, is touchingly portrayed. The reader is carried away by the impassioned and vivid narrative and is not surprised to find Morcillo, the black charger of the intrepid Cortes, made into a deity by the amazed natives, or to see hardened fighters tenderly bury a horse that his remains may not be desecrated by the Indians. In spite of notes and bibliography, however, the book remains a literary rather than a historical presentation of a fascinating subject by a writer of distinction. There is nothing new for the student of Spanish American history in the statement that next to God it was the horse who contributed most to the success of the conquistador. The complete story of the role played by the horse is left unfinished. Probably the author had no intention of exhausting the subject. Those who wish to pursue the study further will find much pertinent information not used by the author in the other accounts of the numerous *entradas* that carried the Spaniards to every nook and corner of two continents. The reports of the presidio commanders in northern New Spain from Altar to Texas, for instance, and the detailed *informes* of men like Rubí and Croix are filled with interesting data that await analysis. Cunninghame Graham divided his book on horses into three parts. The first concerns the conquest of Mexico, based largely on the letters of Cortes and *La Verdadera Historia* of Bernal Diaz del Castillo; the second deals with the conquest of Florida as related by Garcilaso de la Vega; and the third consists of generalizations on the progeny of the first horses and their characteristics today. The Spanish phrases used in the editor's foreword have been misprinted: "comprende" for "comprendo," "suyo" for "suya," and "vamanos" for "vamonos." On page 72 the date 1562 is meant, not 1532.

CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA, *University of Texas*

FREDERICK CATHERWOOD, ARCHt. By *Victor Wolfgang von Hagen.* Introduction by Aldous Huxley. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1950, pp. xix, 177, $5.00.) This is an authoritative and readable life of a man whose name has been familiar for over a century to archaeologists and students of architecture, but of whose career almost nothing has hitherto been known. London-born in 1799, Catherwood, after an apprenticeship to an architect, studied art, traveled in Italy, Greece, Egypt, the Holy Land. Of the hundreds of drawings he made between 1821 and 1835, unfortunately few survive. He briefly practiced architecture in New York, built there and operated with great success "Catherwood's Panorama," but left it in other hands to join John L. Stephens on his explorations of ruined Maya cities in Central America and Yucatan. Catherwood's drawings, graphically illustrating Stephens' delightful text, did much to give the resultant accounts of these journeys immediate and long-continued popularity. Made with dogged perseverance under the greatest hardships of tropical climate, insect pests, and repeated attacks of malaria, they are both beautiful and meticulously accurate. Stephens' books and Catherwood's subsequently issued album, *Views of Ancient Monuments* first made generally known the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

archaeological riches of the New World. Shortly after Catherwood's return to New York, he was ruined by the destruction of his panorama by fire, one of the most crushing of his many misfortunes. Starting afresh, he undertook, in 1845, the building of a railway in British Guiana, the first in South America. Climate, red tape, inadequate financing thwarted this endeavor; he joined Stephens in constructing the Panama railway, was lured to California, became a real estate operator and, on his return from a voyage to England in searching of backing, was lost at sea in 1854. In spite of Mr. von Hagen's tireless research, Catherwood, the man, remains a shadowy figure. He lives, however, in the products of his brush and pencil, many of the finest of which are admirably reproduced in this definitive and thoroughly annotated work.

A. V. KIDDER, *Cambridge, Massachusetts*

LATIN AMERICAN LEADERS. By *Harold E. Davis,* Professor of History, American University, Washington, D. C. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1949, pp. 170, $2.50.) Professor Davis here continues his presentation of celebrated figures of Latin America, begun in his earlier work, *Makers of Democracy in Latin America.* The introduction emphasizes the extreme caution with which it is necessary to judge the political and intellectual values of this continent. The nine "political leaders" whose lives he examines briefly in the first one hundred pages were chosen for their variety of nationalities and significant characteristics. Six of them were heroes of the period of independence: Toussaint L'Ouverture, Haiti; José María Morelos, Mexico; Mariano Moreno and Bernardino Rivadavia, Argentina; Diogo Antônio Feijó, Brazil; Francisco de Paula Santander, Colombia. The remaining three were statesmen of the nineteenth or early twentieth century: José Manuel Balmaceda, president of Chile; Ruy Barbosa, internationalist of Brazil; and Hipólito Irigoyen, president of Argentina from 1916 to 1922 and from 1928 to 1930. Professor Davis devotes the second part of the book to the study of seven "leaders of thought." There his criteria are perhaps even more flexible because he has included authors in the fields of poetry, philosophy, the essay, the novel, grammar, and law. The Mexican Lizardi and the Venezuelan Bello belong to the period of independence, whereas the Brazilian Euclides da Cunha, the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío, the Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó, the Argentine José Ingenieros, and the Mexican Antonio Caso lived in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Though the sketches are brief, they are clear and accurate. A brief bibliography in English and Spanish accompanying each sketch demonstrates the diligence and seriousness of the author and opens the way for those who wish to make more detailed studies. The effort of Professor Davis is honest and useful; however, the names which he chose are not the only ones which might be included in a book of this type, nor does the book help those who seek an organic or integrated conception of the life and thought of Latin Americans in the past and present.

JORGE BASADRE, *Pan-American Union*

A publication new to the following list is: *Revista de Estudios Yucatecos* (Mérida), I, no. 1, Feb., 1949. It is a quarterly edited by Victor M. Suárez and dedicated to Yucatan culture. J. S. C.

ARTICLES

MARIO A. PUGA I. La ecuación espacio-tiempo histórico en el Perú pre-hispánico. *Am. Indígena* (México, D. F.), Oct., 1949.

ANTONIO MEDIZ BOLIO. Discurso sobre Hunac-eel y los Azaes. *Rev. Estud. Yucatecos,* Sept., 1949.

JULIO YCASA TIGERINO. Evolución político del indio. *Rev. Estud. Políticos* (Madrid), no. 46, 1949.

MANUEL GIMÉNEZ FERNÁNDEZ. Introducción al estudio de la instituciones canónicas en el derecho indiana. *Anuario Estud. Am.* (Sevilla), 1946.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Francisco Javier de Ayala. Iglesia y estado en las Leyes de Indias. *Estud. Am.* (Sevilla), May, 1949.

Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo. La visita como institución indiana. *Ibid.*

Hipólito Jerez. Los ducados del Patronato. *Rev. Javeriana* (Bogotá), Aug., Sept., 1949.

José María Ots Capdequi. El gobierno de América desde España. *Univ. Nac. Colombia* (Bogotá), Jan., 1949.

Ernesto Shafer. Comunicaciones marítimas y terrestres de las Indias españolas. *Anuario Estud. Am.*, 1946.

Octavio Gil Munilla. Westfalia y el Imperio español. *Estud. Am.*, Jan., 1949.

Vicente Palacio Atard. El equilibrio de América en la diplomacia del siglo xviii. *Ibid.*

Luís Felipe Paredes. Francisco de Vitoria. *Rev. Univ.* (Cuzco), no. 96, 1949.

Federico Suárez. El problema de la independencia de América. *Estud. Am.*, May, 1949.

Manuel Giménez Fernández. Las doctrinas populistas en la independencia de hispano-América. *Anuario Estud. Am.*, 1946.

Enrique de Gandía. La supuesta influencia de la revolución francesa en la independencia americana. *Rev. Javeriana*, Aug., Sept., 1949.

Francisco de la Maza. Los Evangelistas de Guadalupe. *Cuadernos Americanos* (México, D. F.), Nov., 1949.

Leopoldo Alejandro Rodríguez. Estudio geográfico, histórico, etnográfico, filológico, y arqueológico de la República de El Salvador en Centroamérica. *Anales Soc. Geog. Hist.* (Guatemala City), Mar., 1948.

J. Joaquín Pardo. Efemérides para escribir la historia de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala [cont.]. *Ibid.*

Julio Vargas Prada. Modernas interpretaciones del Perú. *Estud. Am.*, May, 1949.

José Luís Romero. La Enciclopedia y las ideas liberales en el pensamiento argentino anterior a Caseros. *Cursos y Conferencias* (Buenos Aires), Apr., 1949.

Horacio R. Thedy. La doctrina de la Constitucional Nacional. *Ibid.*

Agnelo Bittencourt. Manaus, sua origem e desenvolvimento. *Bol. Geog.* (Rio de Janeiro), July, 1949.

Luis Amaral. Pequeña história do algodão no Brasil. *Ibid.*, Aug., 1949.

José Zamudio Z. Isidoro Errázuriz, Ministro en Brasil, 1897–1898. *Rev. Chilena Hist. Geog.* (Santiago), Jan., 1949.

Faustino Gutiérrez Alviz. Dos intentos americanos de codificación procesal civil: Los proyectos Couture y Ducoudray. *Estud. Am.*, Jan., 1949.

Alfonso de Cossío. Los estudios de derecho comparado hispano-americano. *Ibid.*

Antonio Martín de la Torre. El concepto moderno de la Atlantidad en América y en Europa. *Ibid.*, May, 1949.

Andrés de Piedra-Bueno. La poesía, umbral y dosel de la historia. *Acad. Hist. Cuba* (Havana), 1949.

Jorge Basadre. Valores culturales latinoamericanos en 1949. *Rev. Am.* (Bogotá), Sept., 1949.

Ernesto Volkening. Dos mundos. *Rev. Indias* (Bogotá), May, 1949.

Norberto A. Frontini. El Pacto de Rio de Janeiro y el Pacto de Atlántico. *Cuadernos Americanos*, Nov., 1949.

Antonio García. Construcción económica latinoamerica. *Univ. Nac. Colombia*, Aug., 1949.

Restrepo Millán. El historiador y su tiempo. *Ibid.*

Martín Gómez Palacio. Concepta vitalista de la historia. *Univ. México*, Sept., 1949.

Manuel Luengo Muñoz. Crónica de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos. *Estud. Am.*, Jan., May, 1949.

Clarence H. Haring. Estudios hispano-americanos en los Estados Unidos. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1949.

Walter Starkie. Robert B. Cunninghame Graham. *Ibid.*

Luís G. Monter. Archivo General de la Nación. *Bol. Arch. Nac.* (Havana), Jan., Dec., 1948.

Luther H. Evans. The Preservation of the Documentation on the History of the Americas. *Lib. of Cong. Quar. Jour.*, Nov., 1949.

Documents

F. de las Barras y de Aragón. Las islas Palaos, *Anuario Estud. Am.* (Sevilla), 1946.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

G. Lohmann Villena. Propuesta de Don Mariano Tramarría para la designación de informantes sobre la situación en América. *Ibid.*

Carta dirigida al Gobernador General de Cuba, José de Espeleta, fecha Cádiz, 22 de Septiembre de 1787, que se refiere a los recelos sobre un próximo rompimiento con Inglaterra y otras noticias acerca del estado de Europa. *Bol. Arch. Nac.* (Havana), 1948.

Tres cartas reservadas sobre intenciones del gobierno americano respecto a las Floridas y Luisiana dirigidas a las autoridades españolas, donde se menciona al patriota colombiano Antonio Nariño. *Ibid.*

Tres impresos poco conocidos: (El Amigo de los Hombres: á todos los que habiten las islas, y el vasto continente de la América Española. Philadelphia, 1812); (Reflexiones de un habanero sobre la independencia de esta isla. La Habana, 1823); (Sobre el discurso leido por H.M.F. La Habana, 1823). *Ibid.*

Indexes, Bibliography, and Archive Guides

José Torre Revello. Contribución a la biobibliografía de Roberto Lehmann-Nitsche. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.* (Buenos Aires), nos. 101–104, 1947.

Conferencias sobre temas históricos pronunciados en nuestro país. *Ibid.*

Seymour J. Pomrenze. Materiales relativos a Cuba en los Archivos Nacionales de Estados Unidos. *Rev. Bimestre Cubana* (Havana), July, 1948.

Guillermo Céspedes. El americanismo científico español en 1948. *Estud. Am.* (Sevilla), Jan., 1949.

Id. La producción bibliográfico americanista en España, enero-mayo de 1949. *Ibid.*, May, 1949.

Francisco Aguilera. Hispanica. *Lib. of Cong. Quar. Jour.*, Nov., 1949.

Indice del Ramo de Tierras. Vols. 1730 a 1749 [cont.]. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (México, D. F.), July, 1949.

Andres Eloy de la Rosa. Indice de la correspondencia del Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho, copiada en el Archivo de Bogotá. *Bol. Acad. Nac. Hist.* (Caracas), Jan., 1949.

COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Articles

Werner J. Cahnman. Las regiones mediterranea y del Caribe. Estudio comparativo entre contactos raciales y culturales. *Univ. Nac. Colombia* (Bogotá), Dec., 1948.

Erwin Walter Palm. El hospital de San Nicolás de Bari en la isla de Santo Domingo. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.* (Buenos Aires), nos. 101–104, 1947.

Rulx Léon. Cronologie medicale haitienne. *Rev. Soc. Haitienne d'Hist. Geog.*, July, 1949.

Victor M. Suárez. El Convento de San Francisco el Grande y la Ciudadela de San Benito. *Rev. Estud. Yucatecos* (Mérida), Sept., 1949.

Noticia de la vida y escritos de D. Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas, Obispo de Chiapa. *Anales Soc. Geog. Hist.* (Guatemala City), Mar., 1949.

José Antonio Maravall. La utopía político-religioso de los franciscanos en Nueva España. *Estud. Am.* (Sevilla), May, 1949.

Paul S. Lietz. Vasco de Quiroga, Oidor Made Bishop. *Mid-Am.*, Jan., 1950.

Joseph Roubik. Brother Boruhradsky, Alias de Castro. *Ibid.*

Carlos Samayoa. Dos lineas sobre la vida y obra de fray Francisco Ximénez. *Univ. Antioquia* (Medellín), no. 91, 1949.

Documents

Bando del Gobernador José de Ezpeleta sobre aprehensión de desertores y otras medidas políticas para la conservación del orden público. *Bol. Arch. Nac.* (Havana), 1948.

Real Título de Gobernador y Capitán General de la Provincia de Costa Rica al Capitán don Diego de la Haya Fernández. *Rev. Arch. Nac. Costa Rica* (San José), Jan., 1949.

Méritos y servicios de Fray José Antonio de Liendo y Goycoechea. *Ibid.*

Testimonio del título de Gobernador de Don Tomás de Acosta, 1796–1797. *Ibid.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

D. José D. Bustamente, Presidente de la Audiencia de Guatemala, exige nueva contribución de las Provincias para sostener en España la lucha contra Napoleón. *Ibid.*

Nora B. Thompson. Algunos manuscritos guatemaltecos en Filadelfia. *Anales Soc. Geog. Hist.* (Guatemala City), Mar., 1948.

Proceso contra Miles Philips. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (México, D. F.), July, 1949.

SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

Articles

Julia Herraez S. de Escariche. Don Pedro Zapata de Mendoza, Gobernador de Cartagena de Indias. *Anuario Estud. Am.* (Sevilla), 1946.

Pastor Restrepo. Siniestra banda envenenadores formada por altos miembros del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Cartagena de Indias. *Bol. Hist. Antig.* (Bogotá), Apr., 1949.

Eugenio Ayape. Historia de la Popa de Cartagena. *Ibid.*

Manuel José Forero. Los pijaos en la conquista español. *Ibid.*

José Rumazo. La región amazónica del Ecuador en el siglo xvi. *Anuario Estud. Am.*, 1946.

Manuel Moreyra Paz Soldán. Intervención del Cabildo en la fundación del Tribunal del Consulado en Lima. *Mercurio Peruano* (Lima), Aug., 1949.

Vicente Palacio Atard. Areche y Guirior. Observaciones sobre el fracaso de una visita al Perú. *Anuario Estud. Am.*, 1946.

Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo. Lima y Buenos Aires. Repercusiones económicas y políticas de la creación del Virreinato del Plata. *Ibid.*

Juan Martín Biedma. Los bienes y la biblioteca del deán de la Catedral de Córdoba, doctor Nicolás Videla del Pino, al ser electo Obispo del Paraguay. *Ibid.*

Documents

P. Pedro Murillo Velasco, S.J. Geografía histórica de Suramérica. *Bol. Soc. Geog. "Sucre."* Feb., 1949.

Testamento del último conquistador español, Don Mancio Sierra de Leguízamo. *Rev. Univ.* (Cuzco), no. 36, 1949.

Roderick Wheeler. Letter of Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesús, O.F.M., Florida Missionary, to the King, Concerning the Conversion of the Indians of Popayán (Cali, May 22, 1622). *Americas,* Oct., 1949.

Manuel Gutiérrez de Arce. El régimen de indios en Nueva Granada: Las ordenanzas de Mérida de 1620. *Anuario Estud. Am.* (Sevilla), 1946.

José Torre Revello. Documentos relativos al ingeniero José Bermúdez, gobernador internino de Buenos Aires. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.* (Buenos Aires), nos. 101–104, 1947.

La vida económica en Caracas en el primer tercio del siglo xviii. Actividades de Juan Francisco de León. *Bol. Acad. Nac. Hist.* (Caracas), Jan., 1949.

BRAZIL

Articles

Robert C. Smith. The Wood-Beach at Recife: Contribution to the Economic History of Brazil. *Americas,* Oct., 1949.

Nimes Pereira. A introdução do negro na Amazônia. *Bol. Geog.* (Rio de Janeiro), Aug., 1949.

Lima Figueiredo. A conquista do Brasil pelos Brasileiros. *Ibid.*

Arthur C. Ferreira Reis. A expansão portuguêsa na Amazônia nos séculos xvii e xviii. *Prov. São Pedro* (Rio de Janeiro), no. 12, 1948.

Miguel Costa Filho. O negócio do açúcar. Na terra do Brasil, a luz de documentos. VI, VII. *Brasil Açucareiro* (Rio de Janeiro), May, Sept., 1949.

Jerônimo de Viveiros. A indústria acucareira pernambucana. IV–V. *Ibid.,* May, June, 1949.

José Antonio Gonsalves de Melo. Documentação historica pernambucana sobre a açúcar. *Ibid.,* Sept., 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUVENAL GREENHALGH. Arsenal de Marinha do Rio de Janeiro no tempo da Regência e no Reinado de Don João VI. *Rev. Marítima Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro), Jan., 1949.

DOCUMENTS

Ordens régias (1737); Papeis avulsos (1823). *Rev. Arq. Mun.* (São Paulo), Jan., Feb., 1949.

NATIONAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

ARTICLES

VICENTE FLORÉNS CASTILLO. La emigración liberal española de 1823. *Filosofía y Letras* (México, D. F.), Jan., Feb., 1949.

W. ADOLPH ROBERTS. Great Men of the Caribbean: Toussaint L'Ouverture. *Caribbean Quar.*, July, 1949.

JOHN E. BAUR. Faustin Soulouque, Emperor of Haiti: His Character and His Reign. *Americas*, Oct., 1949.

ROSCOE R. HILL. John Lloyd Stephens and His American Book. *Ibid.*

RENÁN IRIGOYEN. Don Us Escalante, precursor de la industria henequenera. *Rev. Estud. Yucatecos* (Mérida), Feb., 1949.

J. IGNACIO RUBIO MAÑE. Panorama de la cultura yucateca. Año de 1846. *Ibid.*

S. A. ERLENBACH. Entwicklung des mexikanischen Währungswesens. *Hesperia* (Zurich), Dec., 1948, Apr., 1949.

MANUEL HERRERA Y LASSO. Meditación sobre Pereyra. *Estud. Am.* (Sevilla), May, 1949.

EDMUNDO O'GORMAN. Justo Sierra y los orígenes de la Universidad Nacional de México, 1910. *Filosofía y Letras* (Mexico, D. F.), Jan., Apr., 1949.

RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE. El gran periodista Justo Sierra. *Cuadernos Americanos*, Nov., 1949.

SILVESTRE TERRAZAS. El verdadero *Pancho Villa*. *Bol. Soc. Chihuahuense Estud. Hist.*, Oct., 1949.

MIGUEL CRUCHAGA TOCORNAL. El conflicto religioso mexicano. *Rev. Chilena Hist. Geog.* (Santiago), Jan., 1949.

FANCHON ROYER. Working Women of Mexico. *Americas*, Oct., 1949.

SATURNINO PICAZA Y PINO. La medicina en las guerras de independencia cubana. *Rev. Bimestre Cubana* (Havana), July, 1948.

JOSÉ COLCAVECCHIA. Medio siglo de industria azucarera cubana. *Trimestre* (Havana), Oct., 1948.

JOSÉ RAMÓN GRAMAJO. Algo de historia contemporánea de Guatemala en conexión con la de Centroamérica. *Anales Soc. Geog. Hist.* (Guatemala City), Mar., 1948.

DOCUMENTS

F. J. MENCOS GUAJARDO-FAJARDO. Cartas del Obispo Abad y Queipo sobre la independencia mejicana. *Anuario Estud. Am.* (Sevilla), 1946.

La Guerra de Independencia. Expedición de Mina. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (México, D. F.), July, 1949.

La independencia de Yucatán. Un documento interesante. *Ibid.*

Algunos publicaciones hechas en el periódico "La Paz" y "El Progreso," 1847–1848. *Rev. Arch. Nac. Costa Rica* (San José), Jan., 1949.

Documentos oficiales sobre el movimiento revolucionario del 27 de abril de 1870. *Ibid.*

Documentos históricos sobre el antiguo Partido de Nicoya. *Ibid.*

Pacto de Union Provisional de los Estados de Centro-América celebrado en San Salvador por el Tercer Congreso Centro-Americano (1889). *Ibid.*

SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

ARTICLES

ALBERTO MIRAMÓN. Los diplomáticos de la libertad. *Bol. Hist. Antig.* (Bogotá), Apr., 1949.

JUAN ARAMILLO ARANGO. Frente de la primera carta del Libertador. *Ibid.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Luís Alberto Sánchez. Bolívar y Olmedo. *Cuadernos Americanos* (México, D. F.), Nov., 1949.
Vicente Lecuna. Nueva versiones sobre la Entrevista de Guayaquil. *Bol. Acad. Nac. Hist.* (Caracas), Jan., 1949.
Raúl Ferrero. La Constitución de 1823. *Mercurio Peruano* (Lima), July, 1949.
Francisco L. Romay. La polícia de Buenos Aires desde 1810 hasta 1815. *Bol. Inst. Hist.* (Buenos Aires), nos. 101–104, 1947.
Alfredo Schaffroth. El deán Funes y la progresividad impositiva. *Ibid.*
Juan Manuel de los Ríos. El plan de San Martín y Güemes en 1820 y 21. Algunos documentos y antecedentes sobre el mismo. *Ibid.*
Beatriz Bosch. Las instrucciones de los diputados por Entre Ríos al Congreso Nacional de 1824–1827. *Ibid.*
Capítulo de exaltación artiguista. *Rev. Militar Naval* (Montevideo), Jan., 1949.
César Díaz. Monte-Caseros. *Ibid.*
Raúl Silva Castro. Don Juan Egaña, 1768–1836. *Rev. Chilena Hist. Geog.* (Santiago), Jan., 1949.
César Pillado Ford. Nicolás Anchorena, su vida en Chile en los trágicos momentos de Rancagua, correspondencia cifrada. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.*, nos. 101–104, 1947.
Wenceslao Nestor Domínguez. Corrientes en las luchas por la democracia, la Revolución de 1868. *Ibid.*
José P. Barreiro. La libertad de prensa y de pensamiento y sus contrastes durante el siglo xix. *Cursos y Conferencias* (Buenos Aires), Apr., 1949.
Roberto F. Giusti. Panorama de la cultura argentina durante el siglo xix. *Ibid.*
Carlos López Núñez. Carlos Cossío en la filosofía jurídica argentina. *Estud. Am.*, Jan., 1949.
Enrique de Gandía. Ideales de la poesía argentina. *Anales Soc. Geog. Hist.* (Guatemala City), Mar., 1948.
Alfredo Jáurequi Rosquellos. El ocaso del liberalismo en Bolivia. *Bol. Soc. Geog. "Sucre,"* Feb., 1949.
El Alto Perú y Buenos Aires, Bolivia y Argentina [cont.]. *Ibid.*
Javier Pulgar Vidal. Una síntesis de la filosofía de aprismo. *Rev. Am.* (Bogotá), Sept., 1949.
Juan Friede. La legislación indígena en la Gran Colombia. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, Apr., 1949.
Tulio Enrique Tascón. Historia del derecho constitucional colombiano. *Ibid.*
Robert Carlyle Beyer. The Marketing History of Colombian Coffee. *Agric. Hist.*, Oct., 1949.
José Pareja Paz Soldán. Juan Vicente Gómez, un fenómino telúrico. *Mercurio Peruano*, July, 1949.
Manuel Pérez Guerrero. El progreso económico de Venezuela. *El Trimestre Económico* (México, D. F.), Apr., 1949.

Documents

Oficio(s) de la Junta de Buenos Aires. *Bol. Soc. Geog. Hist. "Sucre,"* Feb., 1949.
Emilio Ravignani. Los bienes de Juan Manuel de Rosas según inventarios que se conservan en el Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.* (Buenos Aires), nos. 101–104, 1947.
Sumario formada contra don Manuel Salas, 1815. *Rev. Chilena Hist. Geog.* (Santiago), Jan., 1949.
Papeles de Sucre. *Bol. Acad. Nac. Hist.* (Caracas), Jan., 1949.
Carta de Guzmán Blanco. *Ibid.*
Cartas de crédito a favor del General Cipriano Castro. *Ibid.*

BRAZIL

Articles

Everardo de Vasconcelos. Aventureiros no Brasil—Lista alfabética dos corsários de Buenos Aires [cont.]. *Rev. Marítima Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro), Nov., 1948.
Id. Aventureiros no Brasil—Notas—Corsarios de Artigas [cont.]. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1949.
Speridião Faissol. A colônia alemã de Uvá. *Rev. Brasileira Geog.* (Rio de Janeiro), Jan., 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books Received[1]

AIGRAIN, RENÉ. *Histoire des universités.* "Que sais-je?" no. 391. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1949. Pp. 125.

American Jewish Year Book. Vol. 51, *1950.* Ed. by MORRIS FINE, *et al.* New York: American Jewish Committee; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1950. Pp. xvii, 599. $3.95.

Amériques Latines, A travers les. Introd. by LUCIEN FEBVRE. Cahiers des *Annales,* No. 4. Paris: Armand Colin. 1949. Pp. xi, 208. 350 fr.

Analecta Hibernica, including the Reports of the Irish Manuscripts Commission. No. 17—1949. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1949. Pp. 353. 10*s.* 6*d.* (Includes "Proceedings of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen," 1792–94.)

BAGÚ, SERGIO. *Economia de la sociedad colonial: ensayo de historia comparada de America Latina.* Buenos Aires: El Ateneo. 1949. Pp. 300.

BAILEY, STEPHEN KEMP. *Congress Makes a Law: The Story behind the Employment Act of 1946.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 282. $3.75.

BARCLAY, WADE CRAWFORD. *Early American Methodism, 1769–1844.* Vol. I, *Missionary Motivation and Expansion.* History of Methodist Missions, Part I. New York: Board of Missions and Church Extension, Methodist Church. 1949. Pp. xli, 449. $3.50.

BAYLEY, CHARLES C. *The Formation of the German College of Electors in the Mid-Thirteenth Century.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1949. Pp. 237. $4.00.

BELOFF, MAX, (ed.). *The Debate on the American Revolution, 1761–1783.* The British Political Tradition, Book I. London: Nicholas Kaye. 1949. Pp. xi, 304. 12*s.* 6*d.*

BERLAU, A. JOSEPH. *The German Social Democratic Party, 1914–1921.* Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 557. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 374. $4.75.

BOLTON, HERBERT E. *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains.* University of New Mexico, Coronado Historical Series, Vol. I. New York: Whittlesey House, $6.00; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press [with maps], $8.00. 1949. Pp. xii, 491.

BONE, HUGH A. *American Politics and the Party System.* McGraw-Hill Series in Political Science. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1949. Pp. viii, 777. $5.50. Textbook.

BOWERS, FREDSON, (ed.). *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia.* Vol. II, 1949–50. Charlottesville, Bibliographical Society of Virginia. 1949. Pp. 213. $5.00.

BRADFORD, S. C. *Documentation.* Washington: Public Affairs Press. 1950. Pp. 156. $3.00.

BRICKMAN, WILLIAM W. *Guide to Research in Educational History.* New York: New York University Bookstore. 1949. Pp. ix, 220. $2.75.

BRINTON, CRANE. *English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century.* 2d ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. vii, 312. $3.50. See review of 1st ed., *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XL (October, 1934), 167.

BURNHAM, JAMES. *The Coming Defeat of Communism.* New York: John Day Company. 1950. Pp. viii, 278. $3.50.

BURY, J. P. T. *France, 1814–1940.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 348. $4.00.

BUSH, VANNEVAR. *Modern Arms and Free Men: A Discussion of the Role of Science in Preserving Democracy.* New York: Simon and Schuster. 1949. Pp. 273. $3.50.

BUTTERFIELD, HERBERT. *The Origins of Modern Science, 1300–1800.* London: G. Bell and Sons; New York: Macmillan Company. 1949, 1950. Pp. x, 217. $2.50.

CADMAN, JOHN W., JR. *The Corporation in New Jersey: Business and Politics, 1791–1875.* Studies in Economic History, published in co-operation with Committee on Research in Economic History, Social Science Research Council. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 462. $6.00.

CAMERON, JOHN, (ed.). *The Justiciary Records of Argyll and the Isles, 1664–1705.* Vol. I. Edinburgh: J. Skinner for Stair Society. 1949. Pp. xxxi, 240.

[1] Includes all books received between November 1, 1949, and February 1, 1950.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAMPBELL, ALISTAIR, (ed.). *Encomium Emmae Reginae*. Camden Third Series, Vol. LXXII. London: Royal Historical Society. 1949. Pp. lxix, 108.

CARRIÉ, RENÉ ALBRECHT-. *Italy from Napoleon to Mussolini*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1950. Pp. xiii, 314. $4.25.

CARTER, CLARENCE EDWIN, (ed.). *The Territorial Papers of the United States*. Vol. XIV, *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806–1814*. Department of State Publication No. 3502. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. v, 915. $2.75.

CASSELMAN, P. H. *Labor Dictionary: A Concise Encyclopaedia of Labor Information*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1949. Pp. xi, 554. $7.50.

CHINARD, GILBERT. *L'homme contre la nature: essais d'histoire de l'Amérique*. Actualités scientifiques et industrielles, 1070. Paris: Hermann & Cie. 1949. Pp. 178. Two essays which appeared in English in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1945, 1947.

CHRIMES, K. M. T. *Ancient Sparta: A Re-examination of the Evidence*. Publications of the University of Manchester, No. CCCIV; Historical Series No. LXXXIV. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 527, plates. 45*s*.

CLARK, ANDREW HILL. *The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals: The South Island*. Rutgers University Studies in Geography, No. 1. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 465. $6.00.

CLEMENS, CYRIL. *Mark Twain and Franklin D. Roosevelt*. Webster Groves, Mo.: International Mark Twain Society. 1949. Pp. 20. $2.00.

CLISSOLD, STEPHEN. *Whirlwind: An Account of Marshal Tito's Rise to Power*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1950. Pp. 245. $3.75.

COHEN, MORRIS RAPHAEL. *Reason and Law: Studies in Juristic Philosophy*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. 1950. Pp. 211. $3.50.

COLEMAN, J. WINSTON, JR. *A Bibliography of Kentucky History*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 516. $10.00.

COLLINDER, BJÖRN. *The Lapps*. Princeton: Princeton University Press for American Scandinavian Foundation. 1949. Pp. 252. $3.75.

COMMAGER, HENRY STEELE, (ed.). *Documents of American History*. 5th ed. Crofts American History Series. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1949. Pp. xxiii, 759. $5.00. Source book.

CONDLIFFE, J. B. *The Commerce of Nations*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1950. Pp. xi, 884. $7.50.

COPELAND, THOMAS W. *Our Eminent Friend Edmund Burke: Six Essays*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 251. $4.00.

CREMEANS, CHARLES DAVIS. *The Reception of Calvinistic Thought in England*. Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XXXI, No. 1. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 127. Cloth $3.00, paper $2.00.

CUMMINGS, RICHARD O. *The American Ice Harvests: A Historical Study in Technology, 1800–1918*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1949. Pp. x, 184. $3.00.

DANIEL, J. R. V., (ed.). *A Hornbook of Virginia History*. Richmond: Division of History, Virginia Department of Conservation and Development. 1949. Pp. xi, 141.

DANTE ALIGHIERI. *On World-Government, or De Monarchia*. Translated by HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER. New York: Liberal Arts Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 61. 40 cents.

DAVIES, C. COLLIN. *An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. 96. $1.50.

DAVIS, ROBERT TYLER, (ed.). *Native Arts of the Pacific Northwest*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1949. Pp. 165. $7.50.

DEARMOND, ANNA JANNEY. *Andrew Bradford, Colonial Journalist*. Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 272.

DEERR, NOEL. *The History of Sugar*. Vol. I. London: Chapman and Hall. 1949. Pp. xiv, 258. 50*s*.

DEFOURNEAUX, MARCELIN. *Les français en Espagne aux* XI^e *et* XII^e *siècles*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1949. Pp. viii, 333. 800 fr.

DE VISSCHER, CHARLES. *International Protection of Works of Art and Historic Monuments*. Department of State Publication 3590, International Information and Cultural Series, 8. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. 821–71. 25 cents.

DICKINSON, WILLIAM CROFT, (ed.). *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*. In 2 vols. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1949. Pp. cix, 374; 498. £4 4*s*. per set.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dictionary of National Biography: 1931–1940. Ed. by L. G. WICKHAM LEGG. New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 968. $12.50. With cumulative index, 1901–40.

DILLISTIN, WILLIAM H. *Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors, 1826–1866, with a Discourse on Wildcat Banks and Wildcat Bank Notes.* Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 114. New York: American Numismatic Society. 1949. Pp. vi, 175, plates. $3.50.

Documents on European Recovery and Defence, March 1947–April 1949. London and New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1949. Pp. vii, 150. $2.50.

DONALDSON, GORDON, (ed.). *Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices, 1561–1572.* Publications of the Scottish History Society, 3d Series, Vol. XLII. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable for Scottish History Society. 1949. Pp. xli, 335.

DONNELLY, JAMES S. *The Decline of the Medieval Cistercian Laybrotherhood.* Fordham University Studies, History Series, No. 3. New York: Fordham University Press; distrib. by Declan X. McMullen Company. 1949. Pp. viii, 95. $2.00.

DUGGAN, LAURENCE. *The Americas: The Search for Hemisphere Security.* New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 242. $3.00.

EATON, CLEMENT. *A History of the Old South.* New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 636. $7.00.

EMMERSON, JOHN C., JR. (comp.). *Steam Navigation in Virginia and Northeastern North Carolina Waters, 1826–1836.* Portsmouth, Va.: Author. 1949. Pp. xi, 453.

FABRE, PIERRE. *Saint Paulin de Nole et l'amitié chrétienne.* Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 167. Paris: E. de Boccard. 1949. Pp. xix, 396. 750 fr.

FAIRBANK, JOHN KING, and LIU, KWANG-CHING. *Modern China: A Bibliographical Guide to Chinese Works, 1898–1937.* Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, Vol. I. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xviii, 608. $7.50.

FARQUHAR, FRANCIS P., (ed.). *Up and Down California in 1860–1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer, Professor of Agriculture in the Sheffield Scientific School from 1864 to 1903.* 2d ed. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1949. Pp. xxv, 570. $6.50. See review of 1st ed. (Yale University Press), *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI (July, 1931), 841.

FARRINGTON, BENJAMIN. *Francis Bacon, Philosopher of Industrial Science.* Life of Science Library. New York: Henry Schuman. 1949. Pp. 202. $3.50.

FEJTÖ, FRANÇOIS, (ed.). *The Opening of an Era: 1848—An Historical Symposium.* London: Allan Wingate; New York: Macmillan Company. 1948, 1950. Pp. xxviii, 444. $4.50.

FERM, VERGILIUS, (ed.). *Forgotten Religions (Including Some Living Primitive Religions): A Symposium.* New York: Philosophical Library. 1950. Pp. xv, 392. $7.50.

FISCHER, KATHERINE, (tr.). *The Burgundian Code: Liber Constitutionum sive Lex Gundobada, Constitutiones Extravagantes.* Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History, 3d Series, Vol. V. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 106. $2.25.

FLEMING, WALTER L. *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama.* New York: Peter Smith. 1949. Pp. xxiii, 815. $10.00. Reprint (micro-offset). See review of 1st ed. (1905), *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XI (July, 1906), 943.

Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1933. Vol. II, *The British Commonwealth, Europe, Near East, and Africa.* Department of State Publication 3663. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. c, 1031. $3.50.

FRANKL, OSCAR BENJAMIN. *Theodor Herzl: The Jew and the Man.* New York: Storm Publishers. 1949. Pp. 190. $2.50.

FRENCH, J. MILTON, (ed.). *The Life Records of John Milton.* Vol. I, *1608–1639.* Rutgers Studies in English, No. 7. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1949. Pp. x, 446. $5.00.

FRITERS, GERARD M. *Outer Mongolia and Its International Position.* Ed. by ELEANOR LATTIMORE; introd. by OWEN LATTIMORE. Issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1949. Pp. xlvii, 358. $5.00.

Galland's Iowa Emigrant: Containing a Map, and General Descriptions of Iowa Territory. Introd. by WILLIAM J. PETERSEN. Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1949. Pp. xiv, 34. $3.00. Reprint.

GALLOWAY, JOHN DEBO. *The First Transcontinental Railroad: Central Pacific, Union Pacific.* New York: Simmons-Boardman. 1950. Pp. x, 319. $5.00.

GANTENBEIN, JAMES W., (comp. and ed.). *The Evolution of Our Latin-American Policy: A Documentary Record.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1950. Pp. xxvii, 979. $12.50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GARNETT, A. CAMPBELL. *Freedom and Planning in Australia.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1949. Pp. x, 331. $4.00.

GIVANEL Y MAS, JUAN, (ed.). *Catálogo de la Exposición Bibliográfica Hispano-Italiana de los siglos* XVI *a* XVIII *(celebrada en noviembre de 1940).* Diputación Provincial de Barcelona, Biblioteca Central. Barcelona: Casa Provincial de Caridad. 1942. Pp. 64.

GOLD, BELA. *Wartime Economic Planning in Agriculture: A Study in the Allocation of Resources.* Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 551. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 594. $6.75.

GONZÁLEZ, ARIOSTO D., (ed.). *Coleccion de tratados, convenciones y acuerdos economico-comerciales, 1836–1923.* Vols. I, II. Montevideo: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Republica Oriental del Uruguay. 1947, 1948. Pp. cxxiv, 686; 531.

GOTTSCHALK, LOUIS. *Lafayette between the American and the French Revolution (1783–1789).* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 461. $7.50.

GRAHAM, JOHN, JR., (ed.). *Letters of Thomas Carlyle to William Graham.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xx, 86. $2.50.

GRAY, CHARLES MONTGOMERY. *Hugh Latimer and the Sixteenth Century: An Essay in Interpretation.* Harvard Phi Beta Kappa Prize Essays. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. 62. $1.50.

GREGORIE, ANNE KING, (ed.). *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671–1779.* American Legal Records, Vol. 6. Washington: American Historical Association. 1950. Pp. 676. $10.00.

GRODECKI, ROMAN, (ed.). *Księga Henrykowska.* Biblioteka Tekstów Historycznych, II. Poznan: Instytut Zachodni [Institut Occidental]. 1949. Pp. 434.

Groen van Prinsterer: Schriftelijke Nalatenschap. Ed. by C. GERRETSON and A. GOSLINGA. Vol. IV. *Briefwisseling.* Vol. III, *1848–1866.* Ed. by H. J. SMIT. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 90. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1949. Pp. xxvii, 1004.

GROSSMAN, JAMES. *James Fenimore Cooper.* American Men of Letters Series. New York: William Sloane Associates. 1949. Pp. x, 286. $3.50.

GUERRANT, EDWARD O. *Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy.* Inter-Americana Studies, V. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1950. Pp. x, 235. $3.50.

Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 2d ed. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1949. Unpaginated.

HALEVY, ELIE. *The Liberal Awakening, 1815–1830.* Trans. by E. I. WATKIN. A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, Vol. II. 2d ed. New York: Peter Smith. 1949. Pp. xv, 325. $6.00. Reprint. See review of French edition (1923), *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXIX (October, 1923), 133.

HALLENBECK, CLEVE. *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza.* Dallas: University Press in Dallas. 1949. Pp. 115. $10.00.

HAMMOND, GEORGE P., and GOAD, EDGAR F. *A Scientist on the Trail: Travel Letters of A. F. Bendelier, 1880–1881.* Quivira Society Publications, Vol. X. Berkeley: the Society. 1949. Pp. xi, 142. $5.00.

HANCOCK, W. K., and GOWING, M. M. *British War Economy.* History of the Second World War: United Kingdom Civil Series. London: Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1949. Pp. xvii, 583. $4.75.

HANEY, LEWIS H. *History of Economic Thought: A Critical Account of the Origin and Development of the Economic Theories of the Leading Thinkers in the Leading Nations.* 4th ed. New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xxii, 996. $5.00. Textbook.

HÉLIN, MAURICE. *A History of Medieval Latin Literature.* Trans. by JEAN CHAPMAN SNOW. Rev. ed. New York: William Salloch. 1949. Pp. v, 130. $3.00.

HELLER, FRANCIS HOWARD. *Virginia's State Government during the Second World War: Its Constitutional, Legislative, and Administrative Adaptations, 1942–1945.* Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1949. Pp. xvii, 203. $2.00.

HERRICK, JOHN P. *Empire Oil: The Story of Oil in New York State.* New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1949. Pp. xx, 474. $5.00.

HILDEBRAND, GEORGE H., (ed.). *The Idea of Progress: A Collection of Readings.* Selected by FREDERICK J. TEGGART. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 457. $6.00.

HOFFMAN, ROSS J. S., and LEVACK, PAUL, (eds.). *Burke's Politics: Selected Writings and Speeches*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Edmund Burke on Reform, Revolution, and War. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. xxxvii, 536, x. $4.75.

HUGHES, H. STUART. *An Essay for Our Times.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. 196. $2.75.

Human Rights: Comments and Interpretations. A Symposium Edited by UNESCO. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 288. $3.75.

HUNTER, LOUIS C. *Steamboats on the Western Rivers: An Economic and Technological History.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 684. $10.00.

HUXLEY, JULIAN. *Heredity East and West: Lysenko and World Science.* New York: Henry Schuman. 1949. Pp. x, 246. $3.00.

INFELD, LEOPOLD. *Albert Einstein: His Work and Its Influence on Our World.* Twentieth Century Library. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1950. Pp. vi, 132. $2.00.

JACKSON, ELISABETH COLEMAN, and CURTIS, CAROLYN, (comps.). *Guide to the Burlington Archives in the Newberry Library, 1851–1901.* Chicago: Newberry Library. 1949. Pp. xxiii, 374.

JONES, CHARLES W., (ed.). *Medieval Literature in Translation.* New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1950. Pp. xx, 1004. $6.00.

JONES, HOWARD MUMFORD, (ed.). *Primer of Intellectual Freedom.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 191. $2.75.

JUDSON, MARGARET ATWOOD. *The Crisis of the Constitution: An Essay in Constitutional and Political Thought in England, 1603–1645.* Rutgers Studies in History, No. 5. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 444. $5.00.

Kinley, David, The Autobiography of. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1949. Pp. 167. $3.00.

KIRKPATRICK, F. A. *The Spanish Conquistadores.* The Pioneer Histories. 2d ed. London: Adam and Charles Black; New York: Macmillan Company. 1946, 1949. Pp. xiii, 367. $4.50. See review of 1st ed., *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL (July, 1935), 787.

KISCH, GUIDO. *In Search of Freedom: A History of American Jews from Czechoslovakia.* London: Edward Goldston and Company; New York: Bloch Publishing Company. 1949. Pp. xvi, 373. $4.50.

KISCH, GUIDO. *Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum.* University of Notre Dame Publications in Medieval History, Vol. X. Notre Dame, Ind., 1949. Pp. vi, 277.

KONEFSKY, SAMUEL J., (ed.). *The Constitutional World of Mr. Justice Frankfurter: Some Representative Opinions.* New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xviii, 325. $4.50.

KORNGOLD, RALPH. *Two Friends of Man: The Story of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips and Their Relationship with Abraham Lincoln.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1950. Pp. xii, 425. $5.00.

KRAUS, MICHAEL. *The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth-Century Origins.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1949. Pp. xi, 334. $3.75.

KURATH, HANS. *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States.* Studies in American English, no. 1. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1949. Pp. x, 88, 163 maps. $4.00.

LABUDA, GERARD. *Pierwsze Państwo Słowiańskie: Państwo Samona [Le premier état slave (État de Samon)].* Biblioteka Historyczna, IV. Poznan: Księgarnia Akademicka. 1949. Pp. vii, 357.

LEACH, MARIA, and FRIED, JEROME, (eds.). *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend.* Vol. I, *A–I.* New York: Funk and Wagnalls. 1949. Pp. x, 531. $7.50.

LE BOUTILLIER, CORNELIA GEER. *American Democracy and Natural Law.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1950. Pp. vi, 204. $3.00.

LEISY, ERNEST E. *The American Historical Novel.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1950. Pp. x, 280. $3.75.

LEONTOVITSCH, VICTOR. *Die Rechtsumwälzung unter Iwan dem Schrecklichen und die Ideologie der russischen Selbstherrschaft.* Stuttgart: K. F. Koehler Verlag. 1949. Pp. 134. DM. 4,50.

LERNER, DANIEL. *Sykewar: Psychological Warfare against Germany, D-Day to VE-Day.* Library of Policy Sciences. New York: George W. Stewart. 1949. Pp. xviii, 463. $6.50.

LETURIA, PEDRO, S.J. *Iñigo de Loyola.* Trans. by ALOYSIUS J. OWEN, S.J. Syracuse: Le Moyne College Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 209. $4.50.

LIEDEKERKE DE BEAUFORT, AUGUSTO DE. *Rapporti delle cose di Roma (1848–1849).* Ed. by ALBERTO M. GHISALBERTI. Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, Biblioteca scientifica, Serie II: Fonti, Vol. XXXV. Rome: Vittoriano. 1949. Pp. xviii, 212. L. 1500.

LINTON, RALPH and ADELIN. *We Gather Together: The Story of Thanksgiving.* New York: Henry Schuman. 1949. Pp. 100. $2.00.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LOCKEY. *East Florida, 1783–1785.* A File of Documents Assembled, and Many of Them Translated by JOSEPH BYRNE LOCKEY. Ed. by JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1949. Pp. xxiv, 764. $7.50.

LYASHCHENKO, PETER I. *History of the National Economy of Russia to the 1917 Revolution.* Trans. by L. M. HERMAN. American Council of Learned Societies, Russian Translation Project. New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xiii, 880. $13.00.

MCDERMOTT, WILLIAM C., (tr.). *Gregory of Tours: Selections from the Minor Works.* Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History, 3d Series, Vol. IV. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 109. $2.50.

MCGLOIN, JOHN BERNARD, S.J. *Eloquent Indian: The Life of James Bouchard, California Jesuit.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1949. Pp. xvii, 380. $5.00.

MACK, EDWARD C. *Peter Cooper, Citizen of New York.* New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1949. Pp. xvi, 432. $5.00.

MCVEY, FRANK L. *The Gates Open Slowly: A History of Education in Kentucky.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 321. $4.00.

MAGNUS, RUDOLF. *Goethe as a Scientist.* Trans. by HEINZ NORDEN. Life of Science Library. New York: Henry Schuman. 1949. Pp. xix, 259. $3.50.

MAHN, JEAN-BERTHOLD. *Le Pape Benoit XII et les Cisterciens.* Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études, fasc. 295. Paris: Édouard Champion. 1949. Pp. 150.

MANLY, WILLIAM LEWIS. *The Jayhawkers' Oath and Other Sketches.* Ed. by ARTHUR WOODWARD. Los Angeles: Warren F. Lewis. 1949. Pp. xii, 168. $6.00.

MANNING, THOMAS G.; POTTER, DAVID M.; DAVIES, WALLACE E. *Government and the American Economy, 1870–Present: Select Problems in Historical Interpretation.* New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1950. Pp. xvi, 464. $3.25. Source book.

MANUCY, ALBERT. *Artillery through the Ages: A Short Illustrated History of Cannon, Emphasizing Types Used in America.* National Park Service Interpretive Series, History No. 3. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. 92. 35 cents.

MARROU, HENRI-IRÉNÉE. *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique: "Retractatio."* Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 145 (bis). Paris: E. de Boccard. 1949. Pp. 623–713. 300 fr.

MARSHALL, DOROTHY. *The English Domestic Servant in History.* General Series: G 13. London: George Philip and Son for Historical Association. 1949. Pp. 30. *1s. 7d.*

MASSING, PAUL W. *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany.* Studies in Prejudice, sponsored by American Jewish Committee, Social Studies Series, Publication II. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1949. Pp. xviii, 341. $4.00.

MAXWELL, CONSTANTIA. *Country and Town in Ireland under the Georges.* Dundalk, Ireland: Dundalgan Press. 1949. Pp. 380. *21s.*

MAYER, J. P., (ed.). *The Recollections of Alexis de Tocqueville.* Trans. by ALEXANDER TEIXEIRA DE MATTOS. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. xxvi, 332. $5.00.

MEINECKE, FRIEDRICH. *The German Catastrophe: Reflections and Recollections.* Trans. by SIDNEY B. FAY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xiii, 121. $3.00. See review of German edition, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, LIV (October, 1948), 120.

Michels', Roberto, First Lectures in Political Sociology. Trans. by ALFRED DE GRAZIA. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1949. Pp. 173. $2.75.

MILLS, LENNOX A., and Associates. *The New World of Southeast Asia.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 445. $5.00.

MITCHELL, MAIRIN. *The Maritime History of Russia, 848–1948.* London: Sidgwick and Jackson; New York: Macmillan Company. 1949, 1950. Pp. xv, 543, maps. $5.00.

MITKOWSKI, JÓZEF. *Początki Klasztoru Cystersów w Sulejowie: Studia nad Dokumentami, Fundacją i Rozwojem Uposazenia do Końca XIII wieku.* Prace Komisji Historycznej, XV. Poznan: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. 1949. Pp. x, 410.

MONTROSS, LYNN. *The Reluctant Rebels: The Story of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789.* New York: Harper and Brothers. 1950. Pp. viii, 467. $5.00.

MOORE, GAY MONTAGUE. *Seaport in Virginia: George Washington's Alexandria.* Richmond: Garrett and Massie. 1949. Pp. x, 278. $10.00.

MORELLI, EMILIA, (ed.). *Epistolario di Nino Bixio.* Vol. III (*1866–1870*). Istituto per la storia

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

del Risorgimento italiano, Biblioteca scientifica, Serie II: Fonti, Vol. XXXIV. Rome: Vittoriano. 1949. Pp. xvii, 621. L. 2500.

MORGAN, MANIE. *The New Stars: Life and Labor in Old Missouri.* Arr. by JENNIE A. MORGAN. Ed. by LOUIS FILLER. Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press. 1949. Pp. xviii, 301. $3.75.

MORISON, SAMUEL ELIOT. *The Struggle for Guadalcanal, August 1942–February 1943.* History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Vol. V. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1949. Pp. xxii, 389. $6.00.

MULLER, C. F. J. *Die Britse Owerheid en die Groot Trek* [British Colonial Policy and the Great Trek]. Cape Town: Juta. 1949. Pp. xvii, 323. 25*s*.

MURRAY, MARGARET A. *The Splendour That Was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilisation.* New York: Philosophical Library. 1949. Pp. xxiii, 354. $10.00.

NEALE, J. E. *The Elizabethan House of Commons.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1950. Pp. 455. $5.00.

NEF, JOHN U. *La route de la guerre totale: essai sur les relations entre la guerre et le progrès humain.* Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des Sciences politiques, no. 11. Paris: Armand Colin. 1949. Pp. 161.

NELSON, BENJAMIN N. *The Idea of Usury: From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood.* History of Ideas Series, No. 3. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 257. $3.00.

NELSON, WILLIAM, (ed.). *Out of the Crocodile's Mouth: Russian Cartoons about the United States from "Krokodil," Moscow's Humor Magazine.* Current Soviet Thought: a series of monographs prepared under the auspices of the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. Washington: Public Affairs Press. 1949. Pp. 116. $2.50.

NOBLIN, STUART. *Leonidas LaFayette Polk, Agrarian Crusader.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 325. $5.00.

NOSTRAND, HOWARD LEE, and BROWN, FRANCIS J., (eds.). *The Role of Colleges and Universities in International Understanding.* A report of a conference sponsored by 69 national education organizations and 3 foundations, Estes Park, Colo., June 19–22, 1949. American Council on Education Studies, Series I, Reports of Committees and Conference, Vol. XIII, no. 38. Washington: the Council. 1949. Pp. x, 137.

O'CONNOR, RICHARD. *Hood: Cavalier General.* New York: Prentice-Hall. 1949. Pp. x, 316. $4.00.

OSBORN, CHASE S., and OSBORN, STELLANOVA. *Northwoods Sketches.* Lansing: Historical Society of Michigan. 1949. Pp. xiv, 127.

PAINTER, SIDNEY. *The Reign of King John.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 397. $5.50.

PARACELSUS. *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum of Theophrastus von Hohenheim Called Paracelsus.* Trans. by KURT F. LEIDECKER. Supplements to the Bulletin of the History of Medicine, No. 11. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1949. Pp. vii, 69. $1.75.

PARKINSON, C. NORTHCOTE. *Portsmouth Point: The British Navy in Fiction, 1793–1815.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. 154. $3.00.

PETRIE, Sir CHARLES. *Earlier Diplomatic History, 1492–1713. Diplomatic History, 1713–1933.* New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xii, 251; xii, 384. $2.75 each.

PETROV, VLADIMIR. *My Retreat from Russia.* Trans. by DAVID CHAVCHAVADZE. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1950. Pp. x, 357. $4.00.

PFEFFERKORN, IGNAZ. *Sonora: A Description of the Province.* Trans. and annotated by THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540–1940, Vol. XII. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 329. $9.50.

PHILLIPS, JAMES DUNCAN. *Pepper and Pirates: Adventures in the Sumatra Pepper Trade of Salem.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1949. Pp. xii, 141. $2.50.

PIANE, MARIO DELLE. *Bibliografia di Gaetano mosca.* Quaderni di critica, XXII. Florence: La Nuova Italia. 1949. Pp. 80.

PIETTE, CHARLES J. G. MAXIMIN, O.F.M. *Le secret de Junípero Serra, fondateur de la Californie-Nouvelle, 1769–1784.* 2 vols. Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1949. Pp. 480, 595. $6.00.

PONTEIL, FÉLIX. *La monarchie parlementaire, 1815–1848.* Collection Armand Colin, Section d'Histoire et Sciences économiques, no. 256. Paris: Armand Colin. 1949. Pp. 222. 180 fr.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POWELL, J. H. *Bring Out Your Dead: The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 304. $3.75.

PRATT, FLETCHER. *The Third King* [Valdemar IV Atterdag of Denmark (1340–1375)]. New York: William Sloane Associates. 1950. Pp. 313. $4.00.

Preliminary Checklist for Petersburg, 1786–1876. Ed. by EDWARD A. WYATT IV. Virginia Imprint Series, ed. by J. C. WYLLIE and R. W. CHURCH, no. 9. Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1949. Pp. 358.

RAE, JOHN B., and MAHONEY, THOMAS H. D. *The United States in World History: From Its Beginnings to World Leadership*. McGraw-Hill Series in History. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1949. Pp. xv, 813. $5.00. Textbook.

RANKE, LEOPOLD VON. *Das Briefwerk*. Ed. by WALTHER PETER FUCHS. *Neue Briefe*. Ed. by BERNHARD HOEFT and HANS HERZFELD. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag. 1949. Pp. lvi, 642; xxxii, 778. DM. 24,50; 28,50.

Relaciones diplomáticas hispano-mexicanas (1839–1898): documentos procedentes del Archivo de la Embajada de España en Mexico. Serie I, *Despachos generales:* I, *1839–1841*. Mexico, D. F.: El Colegio de Mexico. 1949. Pp. xxxii, 379.

RENOUARD, YVES. *Les hommes d'affaires italiens du moyen age*. Collection Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations. Paris: Armand Colin. 1949. Pp. ix, 262. 480 fr.

RIEGEL, ROBERT E. *Young America, 1830–1840*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 436. $5.00.

ROBERTS, CHALMERS M. *Washington, Past and Present: A Pictorial History of the Nation's Capital*. Washington: Public Affairs Press. 1949. Pp. 217. $4.50.

ROELKER, WILLIAM GREENE, (ed.). *Benjamin Franklin and Catharine Ray Greene: Their Correspondence, 1755–1790*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 26. Philadelphia: the Society. 1949. Pp. ix, 147. $3.00.

Roosevelt, Franklin D., The Public Papers and Addresses of. Comp. by SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN. *1941: The Call to Battle Stations. 1942: Humanity on the Defensive. 1943: The Tide Turns. 1944–45: Victory and the Threshold of Peace*. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1950. Pp. xxxvi, 632; xxv, 552; xxvii, 593; lxxi, 634. $40.00 per set.

ROSÉN, JERKER. *Kronoavsöndringar under Äldre Medeltid*. Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, XLVI. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1949. Pp. 206. Kr. 16.

RUDY, S. WILLIS. *The College of the City of New York: A History, 1847–1947*. New York: City College Press. 1949. Pp. x, 492. $6.00.

ST. GREGORY THE GREAT. *Life and Miracles of St. Benedict (Book Two of the Dialogues)*. Trans. by ODO J. ZIMMERMANN, O.S.B., and BENEDICT R. AVERY, O.S.B. Collegeville, Minn.: St. John's Abbey Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 87. Cloth $2.00, paper 90 cents.

SAKAMAKI, KAZUO. *I Attacked Pearl Harbor*. Trans. by TORU MATSUMOTO. New York: Association Press. 1949. Pp. 133. $2.00.

SANSOM, G. B. *The Western World and Japan: A Study in the Interaction of European and Asiatic Cultures*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xvi, 504, xi. $6.00.

SCHEVILL, FERDINAND. *The Medici*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1949. Pp. xi, 240. $4.00.

SCHIAVO, GIOVANNI. *Italian-American History*. Vol. II, *The Italian Contribution to the Catholic Church in America*. New York: Vigo Press. 1949. Pp. 1056. $10.00.

SCHNERB, ROBERT. *Rouher et le Second Empire*. Paris: Armand Colin. 1949. Pp. 351. 750 fr.

SEARS, PAUL B. *Charles Darwin: The Naturalist as a Cultural Force*. Twentieth Century Library. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1950. Pp. ix, 124. $2.00.

Seção de Numismática. Vol. I, *Catálogo geral: 1.ª Parte: Moedária—Moedas do Brasil*. Porto Alegre, Brazil: Museu Júlio de Castilhos. 1949. Pp. 358.

SEN, SURENDRANATH, (ed.). *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri: Being the Third Part of the Travels of M. de Thevenot into the Levant and the Third Part of a Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri*. Indian Records Series. New Delhi: National Archives of India. 1949. Pp. lxiv, 434. Rs. 20.

SHAW, ARCHER H., (comp. and ed.). *The Lincoln Encyclopedia: The Spoken and Written Words of A. Lincoln Arranged for Ready Reference*. New York: Macmillan Company. 1950. Pp. xii, 395. $6.50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SIMINGTON, ROBERT C., (ed.). *Books of Survey and Distribution: Being Abstracts of Various Surveys and Instruments of Title, 1636–1703.* Vol. I, *County of Roscommon.* Dublin: Stationery Office for Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1949. Pp. lvii, 181. £2 15*s.*

SISTER MARY AUGUSTINE KWITCHEN, O.S.F. *James Alphonsus McMaster: A Study in American Thought.* Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 230.

SMITH, EDWARD CONRAD, and ZURCHER, ARNOLD JOHN, (eds.). *New Dictionary of American Politics.* New York: Barnes and Noble. 1949. Pp. viii, 437. $3.25. See note on 1944 edition, *Am. Hist. Rev.,* L (January, 1945), 408.

SMITH, J. EUGENE. *One Hundred Years of Hartford's* Courant: *From Colonial Times through the Civil War.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. 342. $5.00.

SMITH, WALTER BEDELL. *My Three Years in Moscow.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1950. Pp. 346. $3.75.

STAUFFER, ROBERT C., (ed.). *Science and Civilization.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 212. $2.50.

STEDMAN, MURRAY S., JR., and SUSAN W. *Discontent at the Polls: A Study of Farmer and Labor Parties, 1827–1948.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1950. Pp. x, 190. $2.75.

STRAUS, HANNAH ALICE. *The Attitude of the Congress of Vienna toward Nationalism in Germany, Italy, and Poland.* Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 558. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 164. $2.75.

TANNENBAUM, FRANK. *Mexico: The Struggle for Peace and Bread.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xiv, 293, xi. $3.50.

TAYLOR, F. SHERWOOD. *A Short History of Science and Scientific Thought: With Readings from the Great Scientists from the Babylonians to Einstein.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1949. Pp. 368. $5.00.

THARP, LOUISE HALL. *The Peabody Sisters of Salem.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1950. Pp. x, 372. $4.00.

THICKNESSE, S. G. *Arab Refugees: A Survey of Resettlement Possibilities.* London and New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1949. Pp. viii, 68. $1.00.

Todd, James Eadie, Essays in British and Irish History in Honour of. Ed. by H. A. CRONNE, T. W. MOODY, and D. B. QUINN. London: Frederick Muller. 1949. Pp. xv, 336. 21*s.*

TOMPKINS, PAULINE. *American-Russian Relations in the Far East.* New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xiv, 426. $5.00.

TREVELYAN, G. M. *Illustrated English Social History.* Vol. I, *Chaucer's England and the Early Tudors.* New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1950. Pp. xvi, 175. $3.75. See review of 1st ed. (*English Social History*), *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XLVIII (July, 1943), 776.

TUVESON, ERNEST LEE. *Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress.* Berkeley: University of California Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 254. $3.50.

United Nations. *Selected Bibliography of the Specialized Agencies related to the United Nations.* U. N. Headquarters Library, Bibliographical Series, No. 1. Lake Success: U. N. Department of Public Information; distrib. by Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 28. 25 cents.

United Nations Affairs, Annual Review of, 1949. Ed. by CLYDE EAGLETON. New York: New York University Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 322. $5.00.

United States (The) and the Soviet Union: Some Quaker Proposals for Peace. A Report Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. v, 39. $1.00.

Utah State Historical Society. *The Exploration of the Colorado River in 1869; The Exploration of the Colorado River and the High Plateaus of Utah in 1871–72.* 2 vols. Utah Historical Quarterly, Vols. XV, 1947, XVI–XVII, 1948–49. Salt Lake City: the Society. 1947, 1948–49. Pp. xiii, 270; 540. Vol. XV, cloth $4.50, paper $2.75; Vol. XVI–XVII, cloth $6.00, paper $4.00.

VAIL, R. W. G. *The Voice of the Old Frontier.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 492. $15.00.

VANHAMME, MARCEL. *Bruxelles, 1100–1800: Promenades dans le Passé.* Brussels: Office de Publicité. 1949. Pp. 104. 75 fr.

VON HAGEN, VICTOR WOLFGANG. *Frederick Catherwood, Archt.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. xix, 177. $5.00.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WALLACE, ANTHONY F. C. *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 305. $3.50.

WALRAET, MARCEL. *Actes de Philippe Ier, dit Le Noble, comte et marquis de Namur (1196–1212)*. Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire. 1949. Pp. x, 211.

WEINGAST, DAVID ELLIOTT. *Walter Lippmann: A Study in Personal Journalism*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1949. Pp. xx, 155. $3.00.

WEISS-ROSMARIN, TRUDE. *Jewish Survival: Essays and Studies*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1950. Pp. 404. $4.00.

WELCH, SIDNEY R. *South Africa under King Sebastian and the Cardinal, 1557–1580*. Cape Town: Juta and Company. 1949. Pp. 487. 30*s*.

WHITE, JOHN ALBERT. *The Siberian Intervention*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 471. $6.00.

WHITEHILL, WALTER MUIR. *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem: A Sesquicentennial History*. Salem: Peabody Museum. 1949. Pp. xvi, 243.

WILDE, ROBERT. *The Treatment of the Jews in the Greek Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries*. The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. LXXXI. Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1949. Pp. xviii, 239.

WILLEY, BASIL. *Nineteenth Century Studies: Coleridge to Matthew Arnold*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 288. $4.50.

WILLIAMSON, JAMES A. *Hawkins of Plymouth: A New History of Sir John Hawkins and of the Others Members of His Family Prominent in Tudor England*. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1949. Pp. xi, 348. 25*s*.

WOODBURY, DAVID O. *A Measure for Greatness: A Short Biography of Edward Weston*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 230. $4.00.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Historical News

The Boston Meeting, 1949

Breaking its established New York-Chicago-Washington sequence for the second time in the postwar period, the American Historical Association held its sixty-fourth annual meeting in Boston on December 28, 29, and 30. Headquarters were at the Hotel Statler, whose meeting rooms were supplemented by those of the Old South Meeting House, the Boston Public Library, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Some fifteen affiliated societies met concurrently, all of them, with a single exception, collaborating in joint sessions.

Local arrangements fared well at the hands of Walter Muir Whitehill, director of the Boston Athenaeum, whose responsibilities covered the complicated details of tickets, menus, housing, and the like. Not only did committee and hotel staff co-operate to fashion a smoothly running convention mechanism—the lobbies and mezzanine of the Statler proved generally equal to the between-session pressure on them—but Mr. Whitehill had also prepared various helpful aids for members who wished to combine sightseeing in the Boston area with attendance at the convention.[1]

Since the last Boston meeting of the Association took place nearly two decades ago, a brief comparison of the two conventions may provide an instructive measure of some of the changes of the 1930's and 40's. Registration at the 1949 convention totaled 1173 as against 817 in 1930. (This comparison is perhaps not significant, since the 1930 attendance broke all previous records by a margin of 200, while the 1949 turn-out was exceeded by New York in 1946 and by Washington in 1948, when 1332 were registered. Clearly the average attendance has doubled in the course of the two decades.) The 30 sessions announced for 1930 had increased to 47 in 1949, with 111 and 204 participants—chairmen, speakers, panel members, and commentators—listed by the respective program committees. Likewise, the number of affiliated societies had doubled, from seven in 1930 to fifteen in 1949.

When the two programs are compared as to content, certain differences in emphasis appear. Most significant, perhaps, is the emergence during the two decades of new areas of historical interest. In 1930, for example, there were two sessions on Latin America and one on the Far East, but the Near East, Russia, and India were unrecognized, though there was a session on "Europe in Africa." Save for this and the Modern History luncheon, Europe after the French Revolutionary period was unrepresented, and at no session was the world position of the United States or the foreign relations of the American people considered. On the

[1] Professor Owen omits what all in attendance would want added, that the interesting program he reports also "fared well" as the result of the planning and hard work of Professor Owen himself and the other members of his Program Committee. EDITOR.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other hand, some of the earlier periods of both American and European history were admirably represented, and certain problems of scholarship were explored.

No doubt, some of the contrasts between 1930 and 1949 are purely fortuitous—two other years chosen at random might give a different impression. Yet recent programs have reflected new historical interests. In fact, the pressure of new fields and new interests accounts, in a large measure, for the fifty per cent increase in the number of sessions on the program for 1949. At the recent convention, eight of the sessions dealt with areas other than Western Europe and the United States, nearly as many as those dealing with all periods of European history, while six (duplicating two of the above) had to do, more or less directly, with the world contacts and world responsibilities of the United States.

The Program Committee—composed of B. C. Keeney, E. C. Kirkland, Sherman Kent, and the undersigned—decided against attempting to focus the discussions on a central theme. Instead, it chose diversity, both of subject and method, in the hope that the program would, in some degree, reflect the variety of intellectual interests of the membership. In the make-up of the program, however, one theme was given more than casual emphasis. This had to do with the problem suggested above—that of international order and, more specifically, with the new world position of the United States. Several sessions undertook to explore different phases of the question—world controls in certain periods of the past, the development and nature of American interests in particular areas, and American influence abroad considered in a more general sense. Seven or eight of the sessions might fairly be regarded as belonging in this sequence.

It remains to note that, with two major exceptions, the program was carried out as scheduled. Unfortunately neither General Clay, who was to speak at the joint session with the American Military Institute on "Some Problems of Military Government," nor Robert E. Sherwood, who had agreed to take part in a discussion on "Writing History for the Wider Audience," was able to appear. As a whole, the sessions were well attended and well received, and in most cases the discussion was lively and pointed.

Although the report which follows appears over the signature of the program chairman, it is in fact the work of many hands. The principal contributors are the chairmen of the individual sessions, many of whose accounts, without benefit of quotation marks, have been incorporated in the general report. The committee gratefully acknowledges their assistance.

I

In accordance with recent program practice, the only session for which no competing attraction had been arranged was the annual dinner of the Association. This was held on the evening of December 29 in the ballroom of the Statler, which was filled to comfortable capacity by some 381 diners. Mr. Whitehill, for the Committee on Local Arrangements, introduced President W. K. Jordan of Radcliffe Col-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lege as toastmaster. In presenting the president of the Association, Professor Conyers Read of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Jordan recalled his great services to the Association as well as his distinguished work in the field of Tudor and Stuart history. President Read's challenging address on "The Social Responsibilities of the Historian" will already have appeared in print in the January number of the *Review*. Here it is sufficient to describe it as an eloquent statement of the proposition that the historian, if he is to discharge his responsibilities in this era, must acquire and proclaim a positive social philosophy.

The award of two prizes was also announced at the dinner. The Beveridge Memorial Fellowship was won by Glyndon G. Van Deusen of the University of Rochester for his manuscript life of Horace Greeley. Honorable mention was received by Neil A. McNall of Pennsylvania State College for his study, "An Agricultural History of the Genesee Valley, from 1790 to 1860." Both of these manuscripts will be published in the Beveridge series. The Watumull prize, for the best book on the history of India, was divided between Gertrude Emerson Sen for the first volume of her *Pageant of Indian History* and Holden Furber of the University of Pennsylvania for his study, *John Company at Work*.

II

Four sessions had to do with the ancient and medieval periods of European history. In keeping with the sub-theme of the program, the session on the ancient world was devoted to a consideration of the *"Pax Romana:* Problems of Universal Peace in Antiquity." C. A. Robinson, jr., of Brown University, introduced three speakers who dealt with different aspects of the *Pax*. John V. A. Fine of Princeton, discussing "Contributions of the Hellenistic Age to the *Pax Romana,"* emphasized the trend from particularism towards unity in the Hellenistic Age in the realms of politics, economics, and ideas. This trend, combined with the crushing of the Greek spirit, especially in the first century B.C., facilitated the establishment of the *Pax Romana* after Actium. In his paper on "The Maintenance of the *Pax Romana,"* T. Robert S. Broughton of Bryn Mawr College pointed out that with the establishment of the Augustan frontiers the problems of the *Pax* became those of maintenance and of internal evolution until the equilibrium of the Antonine period was attained. This evolution, by giving a sense of participation and unity to the various parts of the empire, tended to preserve its structure and aid its survival. In analyzing "The Results of the *Pax Romana,"* C. Bradford Welles of Yale stated that Roman peace was the counterpart of the Roman Empire. Both meant the organization of the known civilized world into one society, progressively more urban, until the consequent decay of the peasantry and the failing supply of slaves brought about such weakness that the empire could not maintain itself against armed attack from outside. Some eighty persons listened to the papers, which were followed by an active discussion from the floor.

Both Eastern and Western Europe received emphasis in the two regular medi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eval sessions. One of these, "East and West in the Middle Ages" was chiefly concerned with Eastern and Central Europe, while the other had to do with England. A. E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan served as chairman of the former session, which attracted an audience of about two hundred. In the first paper, "Germans and Slavs: Albert of Bremen and the Foundation of a Western Christian State in Livonia," Edgar N. Johnson of Nebraska, treating his subject as an example of the penetration of an area of low culture by a people of higher cultural status, gave a detailed account of the methods of conquest and their disastrous effects upon the local population of Lios, Letts, and Esthonians, as well as of the contacts of the Germanic conquerors with neighboring Russian states. The second paper, by Robert L. Wolff of Wisconsin, "Greeks and Latins Before 1204 and After," showed the results of the impact of Western institutions and Western invaders upon the Byzantine Greeks, particularly in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries; the degree to which Latin rulers accepted Byzantine social and religious organization; and the reasons for the lack of cultural, social, and political integration of the two elements during the life of the Latin states. Discussing the first paper, F. H. Cramer of Mount Holyoke College drew a parallel between the brutality of the conquest of the Wends and that of the Livonian peoples, pointed out that in each case this was largely the work of Saxons, who had suffered similarly from the Franks, and raised the question whether the harshness of the conquest could be attributed to its religious leadership. In his comments on the second paper, Peter Charanis of Rutgers endorsed Professor Wolff's treatment of his topic, added new examples of the cleft between the Greeks and the Latins, and stressed the Greek feeling of cultural superiority as one of the main factors in preventing cooperation and understanding between the two peoples.

Those who were deterred by the rather specialized titles of the papers from attending the session on "England in the Later Middle Ages: Politics and Political Ideas" apparently had reason to regret their absence. For the meeting was described by many as one of the high points of the convention. Charles H. McIlwain presided. Bertie Wilkinson of the University of Toronto discussed "Political Trials, 1308–1340, Especially in Relation to Parliament." He sought to establish the development of Lancastrian constitutionalism in the early fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II. During the course of the political trials the Lancastrian party showed itself genuinely concerned with legality in government. Gaines Post of the University of Wisconsin, whose subject was "The Community of the Realm and the Estate of the Realm," spoke on the Roman law background of the development of parliamentary and representative institutions and of the estate of the realm. Post suggested that the idea of representation and the idea of action by representative bodies through the community of the realm emerged from a background in which the canon law formed a notable element and that this legal system substantially influenced the development of certain concepts of government, notably the Statute of York. Helen M. Cam of Harvard and Radcliffe and Joseph R.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Strayer of Princeton introduced a discussion which proved to be both animated and knowledgeable.

The final medieval session to be noted was the dinner of the Mediaeval Academy, held on December 28 at the Algonquin Club, with Fred Norris Robinson of Harvard, president of the academy, in the chair. The speaker was Lynn T. White, jr., of Mills College, who demonstrated that his duties as college president have by no means crowded out his interest in medieval research. In his paper on "The Mediaeval Exploration of Mechanical Power and Devices," Dr. White brought together evidence from various fields of technical development which tended to show that the Middle Ages were making fundamental advances in the use of power machinery. Such devices as the windmill for waterpower, the clock, the crank, and the flywheel were all employed. In short, the developments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries will go far to explain the technological changes usually associated with the Renaissance. A noteworthy feature of Dr. White's analysis was his attempt to establish, with some precision, the period of origin of the various devices and to adduce evidence of their spread.

Historiography formed the theme of the major session on the Renaissance. Wallace K. Ferguson of New York University was chairman, and papers were presented by Theodor E. Mommsen of Princeton and Felix Gilbert of Bryn Mawr. Mommsen, in considering "Petrarch's New Approach," emphasized the novelty of Petrarch's conception of history, particularly with reference to his *De viris illustribus*. Although there was nothing essentially new either in the writing of history as a collection of lives of famous men or in the moral pragmatism that centered the work about the concept of *virtus,* Mommsen argued that Petrarch was breaking new ground in selecting as *viri illustres* men of action and in his untheological conception of *virtus*. Petrarch departed from medieval precedent in his purely secular interpretation of history, in substituting a national theme for the universal history of Augustinian tradition, and in a new tripartite periodization, which foreshadowed the division of history into ancient, medieval, and modern periods. Felix Gilbert, under the title, "Fundamental Concepts and Ideas in the Historiography of the High Renaissance," discussed the work of the early sixteenth century historians, Vettori, Nerli, Nardi, and Guicciardini. What these writers had in common was a questioning attitude toward the humanist pattern of history and an interest in the specific problems of history, through which they sought a better understanding of the contemporary political situation. This search for answers to specific problems rather than for examples to illustrate general laws meant assigning to history a new function, and from this sprang the advances in historical technique—critical method, organization, and motivation—which the work of these historians demonstrates. Hans Baron of the Newberry Library, in his discussion of the two papers, doubted whether it was possible to measure the relationship of historical thought in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries without considering the intervening period. Fifteenth century humanism and the gen-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eration of Machiavelli first produced what may be called historical science, characterized by a comparative approach to the past in order to illuminate the present and by the discovery of a natural dynamics of human energies which was stimulated by freedom and competition and suffocated by the imperialism of universal states. The notion of the constancy of dynamic flux destroyed the medieval belief in the permanence of a God-willed universal empire. From this reconstruction of the historical outlook of the mature Renaissance, Baron reached the conclusion that Petrarch, as a historian, must be placed on the medieval side, because his views of antiquity were still bound up with the static idea of perennial empire. As for Gilbert's interpretation of the historiography of the 1520's as a revolutionary movement, Baron thought that comparison with the writing of the Quattrocento would show that some crucial features of the apparently new pattern were merely an epilogue of the humanist Renaissance.

The Society for Reformation Research took as the special subject of its joint session "Swedish 'Motif-research' as Applied to Luther and the Reformation." Edgar M. Carlson of Gustavus Adolphus College, who presented the paper, outlined the principles of motif-research, a historical-theological method of inquiry developed by Swedish scholars since the beginning of the present century. He noted two essential phases of the method—one the particular motif behind the particular doctrinal formulation, the other the discovery of the basic or fundamental motif, the affirmation that underlies all other affirmations and determines the entire structure of a theology. Motif-research may, therefore, be described as "typological" or "structural" research. Carlson cited a number of Swedish works in the field of Reformation research where the method had been fruitfully applied. Harold J. Grimm of Ohio State acted as chairman.

Judged by the response from the large group which attended it, the session on "The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century" proved to be one of the most stimulating of the entire meeting. Although it was difficult to maintain a rigorously comparative basis in the discussion, the individual contributions (dealing with the French, English, Prussian, and Polish nobility) were significant and enlightening. Walter L. Dorn of Ohio State presided, and the principal paper on "The Regrouping of the French Nobility after Louis XIV" was the work of Franklin L. Ford of Bennington College. Concentrating on the so-called "feudal reaction" between 1715 and 1750, he showed how the effort of the French peers after 1715 to emulate their British counterparts by seizing control of the central institutions of government collapsed because of the incompetence of the nobles of the sword. Henceforth, leadership passed to the *noblesse de robe,* and the history of the resurgence of the French nobility is the history of the high robe's winning general recognition as the real defender of privileged interests. The sovereign court magistracy was in a position to do this because of its focal position in the constitutional structure, its firm corporate organization, its wealth and education, and the hold which it had acquired on the public imagination.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the end the magistrates became the recognized standard bearer of the nobility which otherwise would have lapsed into impotence. This was more than an artificial alliance between the robe and the sword; it signified a social fusion which had proceeded to the point where the political distinction between the robe and the sword was meaningless. A new feudality reinvigorated the old. In discussing the English peerage, Lewis P. Curtis of Yale emphasized the position of the peerage as a political aristocracy, an aristocracy which possessed a social conscience, a sense of trusteeship, and held the balance between court and commons. He emphasized their political adaptability, and raised the question of whether the English governing class, with the peerage at its head, may not have helped to stave off the forces of revolution. In commenting on the Russian nobility, A. A. Lobanov-Rostovsky of the University of Michigan could make only slight use of the concepts employed by Ford and Curtis. He discussed the effect of the Petrine reforms on the nobility, especially Peter's making noble status contingent on service. The Russian ruling class was thus transformed into a bureaucracy manned by nobles who had satisfied the education and ability tests. Such requirements were whittled down by the Charter of 1785 issued by Catherine the Great, which gave to the nobility a status comparable to that of the noble orders of Western Europe. Hans Rosenberg of Brooklyn College emphasized the fact that the Prussian nobility shared characteristics with both Eastern and Western Europe. The Prussian nobility in 1750 was a highly heterogeneous body, a condition which precluded the formation of a common political front. During the latter half of the century, however, the nobility took over the Prussian civil service, and the state was transformed from a despotic into a bureaucratic absolutism. Frank Nowak of Boston University contended that the victory of the Polish nobles—the most numerous in Europe—over the crown was too swift and too complete. Fear of royal absolutism had driven them to the opposite extreme of wrecking the Polish constitution and, indeed, to pure obstructionism. When the shock of the first partition brought them to their senses, it was already too late.

European national histories in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were represented by sessions on Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. For Britain the theme, designed to parallel the ancient history session on the *Pax Romana,* was the *Pax Britannica.* Albert H. Imlah of Tufts College, in his paper on "The *Pax Britannica* in a Balanced Europe, 1815–1870," stressed the fact that balance of power was accepted as a European principle. Under Britain's leadership the conception of a public law in Europe was regnant. The success of the *Pax Britannica* was assured chiefly by the fact that diplomacy was supplemented by Britain's "promoting the attractive economic, social and political opportunities of the century." The economic liberalism of Huskisson and Peel, and parliamentary reform, by fostering social welfare in Great Britain and presenting attractions to other nations, served the *Pax* well until Bismarck presented a counter-attraction and gave a new lease of life to the notion that war was profitable.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John C. Amundson of the University of Pittsburgh, in his paper on "The *Pax Britannica* in an Unbalanced Europe, 1870–1914," pointed out that, with the weakening of the *Pax* in Europe, a new fulcrum was found in the world community of British peoples, the British Commonwealth of Nations. A revived imperialism flowing into colonial areas and British capital penetrating a world economy became powerful factors in maintaining the *Pax*. Chamberlain, with his emphasis on imperial defense and imperial trade, and his belief in a welfare empire and in peace as good business, looked forward keenly to an Anglo-Saxon alliance. From Dilke's time on, the broader concept of an Anglo-Saxon *Pax* was a vital element in British thought. In opening the discussion, Samuel C. McCulloch of Rutgers called attention to the organization of international finance and suggested that the Rothschilds, an international family, stood to lose too much by a general war. He emphasized Britain's traditional insistence on freedom of the seas, independence of the Low Countries, and protection of the life lines to the East, and he pointed to the great degree of interdependence in nineteenth century Europe through trade and investment. In the course of the discussion, Paul Knaplund of Wisconsin stressed, as an element in the *Pax,* the religious humanitarianism activating British statesmen and Colonial Office officials. The chairman, Chester W. New of McMaster University, drew attention to the fact that the achievement of independent nationhood within the British Commonwealth was beneficial to the *Pax* largely because it was developed gradually and enjoyed the friendly support of Great Britain and the United States. The experienced Anglo-Saxon nations must skillfully maintain friendly and helpful contacts with the new Asiatic nations if the *Pax Americana-Britannica-Commonwealth* is to be as successful in the next century as was the *Pax Britannica* between 1815 and 1914.

The session on France, "The Labor Movement and the Question of Political Action," Shepard B. Clough of Columbia presiding, was somewhat more specialized in its subject matter. Jean T. Joughin of New York City surveyed "The Formative Decade, 1876–1886," tracing, on the one hand, the attempts of the first Marxist political party in France—the Guesdist Workers' party—to take over the reborn trade union movement and, on the other, the evolution of an apolitical, direct action tendency on the part of the trade unions, which was anticipatory of revolutionary syndicalism. At the same time, the events of the decade anticipated what was to be axiomatic for the future: the weakness of organized labor in France, its dependence on the political state, and consequently the inevitability of its collaboration with outside, nonlabor forces. In discussing "The Development of a Syndicalist Philosophy," John Bowditch of the University of Minnesota addressed himself especially to the question of why, in France, the battle within the labor movement was joined between syndicalism and Marxism rather than among the various schools of Marxism. He found the answers to lie largely in the traditions of French labor, especially its distrust of centralization, and the fact that repre-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sentation in the C.G.T. was so arranged as to give the nonindustrialized areas an undue weight. The conditions that made possible the triumph of revolutionary syndicalist principles were purely fortuitous, circumstances that would not obtain indefinitely. Comments by Henry B. Ehrmann of the University of Colorado were focused on contemporary France, which, he suggested, might cast some light on the past. Professor Ehrmann was inclined to think that the French movement had always been pragmatically rather than philosophically inspired, perhaps to an extreme degree. A spirited discussion followed the formal papers and comments.

Germany was represented by a session on "Some Statesmen of the Weimar Republic," with Sinclair W. Armstrong of Brown substituting as chairman for Hans Rothfels of Chicago. Papers were given by Eric C. Kollman of Cornell College on "Walther Rathenau and German Foreign Policy—Thoughts and Actions" and by Felix E. Hirsch of Bard on "Gustav Stresemann and His Foreign Policy in Perspective." The discussion was led by Klemens von Klemperer of Smith and Hans W. Gatzke of Johns Hopkins. Professor Kollman's careful analysis of Rathenau's ideas on foreign policy from 1907 to 1922 discovered a definite pattern despite contradictions and mistakes. Rejecting the idea of an Anglo-German combination in favor of a continental solution for Germany's problem, Rathenau desired an alignment with France or Russia or both, which would safeguard Germany's industrial leadership in Europe and compensate for her exposed geographical position. Even in the difficult conditions of 1921–22, when Rathenau was first minister of reconstruction and then foreign minister, this pattern is visible in his policy of fulfillment, which was of doubtful advantage to Germany and played into the hands of the Rightist opposition, and in his negotiation of the Treaty of Rapallo. Dr. von Klemperer recognized that the Rapallo policy had immediate advantages but he insisted that it also had dangerous implications for Germany. He emphasized the European motive in Rathenau's policies and suggested that the Rapallo treaty was his formula for the peaceful co-existence of Russia and Europe. Professor Hirsch, who had been personally acquainted with Stresemann, portrayed the latter as an ardent exponent of "Western orientation." "Stresemann was never in sympathy with the so-called Eastern orientation and made consistent efforts to restrain the pro-Soviet attitude of the ambassador Count Brockdorff-Rantzau," but Stresemann realized the value of the Russian connection to Germany and maintained "friendly political and economic relations" with Moscow. Professor Gatzke raised a number of challenging questions concerning Professor Hirsch's case for the sincerity of Stresemann's professed desire for peace and European collaboration. Was Stresemann aware, for example, of Germany's illegal rearmament, first in Russia and later in Germany? This question was answered in the affirmative by Professor Sontag of Berkeley on the basis of captured documents of the German Foreign Office which had not been available to Professor Hirsch. Some other pertinent documents, such as those of Stresemann's *Volkspartei,* have, as Professor Hirsch remarked, disappeared or been destroyed.

Eschewing the more immediate phases of Russian history and problems, Russian

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

specialists elected to devote their session to "Liberalism in Pre-Revolutionary Russia." Papers were read by Alfred A. Skerpan of Kent State University on "The Special Problems of Liberalism in Russia" and by Donald W. Treadgold of the University of Washington on "The Constitutional Democrats and the Russian Liberal Tradition." Albert Parry of Colgate served as commentator and Warren B. Walsh of Syracuse as chairman. Both Messrs. Skerpan and Treadgold stressed the essential dissimilarities between Russian and Western liberalism. The former listed three problems peculiar to Russian liberalism: "the position and significance of the state, of the subject nationalities, and of the working and peasant levels of the population." He devoted most of his paper to analyzing the nature and development of the Russian state, drawing upon geopolitical concepts to aid in explaining the autocracy. Necessity, he said, preserved the autocracy into the twentieth century, and circumstances rendered the nobility and middle class dependent upon the state. Miliukov, who represented the view of the majority of liberals, recognized the essential place of the state, but, nevertheless, set out to destroy its power. Since both peasants and workers, though not otherwise in sympathy with Miliukov's position, were opposed to the state, the institution was so weakened as to be unable to withstand Lenin's final attacks. Only belatedly, Professor Skerpan urged, did the liberal see the other two problems and never took adequate measures with regard to them. Professor Treadgold's paper was chiefly concerned with the Kadet party and its relations with its competitors, the Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionaries. The two vital, interrelated issues which faced the Kadets were: (1) the means to be used in achieving the democratic regime and (2) the relations between the Kadets and their socialist competitors. It was Professor Treadgold's thesis that the crisis over these issues came in 1905–1906 and that the course chosen —constitutionalism and the Duma taking precedence over the need for a socio-economic revolution—largely determined the subsequent failure of Russian liberalism. When the Duma fell, the Kadets fell with it. In opening the discussion, Professor Parry was inclined to discount the state and nationalism as causes of the liberal defeat and insisted that "the problem of long overdue land reform finally wrecked both Miliukov and Kerensky." It was also Professor Parry's view that the decisive moment for the liberals came not in 1905–1906, as Professor Treadgold had suggested, but in 1917, when they forfeited their considerable popular support by failing to give the land to the peasants. Parry attributed this failure to the inability of the Kadets to go against their own class interest. The peasants, he believed, would have supported the liberals' state had the leaders met the demand for land. Professor Parry's critique aroused a lively discussion from the floor in the course of which some speakers questioned his linking of Miliukov and Kerensky and debated the amount of support available to the liberals in 1917.

The luncheon of the Modern European History Section, which this year took as its theme a phase of recent American foreign policy, is reported in another connection.

The two sessions devoted specifically to intellectual history showed a char-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

acteristic and proper indifference to political boundaries. Continental Europe, England, and the United States were represented in the session on "Nineteenth-Century Ideas of the University," which met under the chairmanship of Margaret Clapp, president of Wellesley College. Paul Farmer of Wisconsin analyzed the various cultural and political trends which conditioned the growth of universities on the Continent. He discussed the various stages in their development and noted the influence of the various methods of thought—intuitionalism, rationalism, empiricism. Professor Farmer expressed some concern over the absence of an integrating idea in the modern university. In the United States a good deal of ambiguity surrounded the term "university," in the view of George W. Pierson of Yale. The name was applied both to horizontal and to vertical educational organization. Indeed, the American university was an institution of relatively slow growth, partly because of uncertainty about its objectives, partly because of meager resources, and partly because of lack of both student and teacher personnel. Later the growth of the university was held back by the fact that, although there were adequate financial resources in the large, the denominational college received much of what the country gave to higher education. Charles C. Gillispie of Princeton noted some of the distinctive features of the English university, particularly a collegiate system dedicated to educational aims that, in our terms, were college rather than university in character. He discussed the gradual encroachment of the university and the professoriate on the position of the college and the gradual transformation of Oxford and Cambridge into universities in the modern sense, though without abandoning their function of educating undergraduates. Dr. Gillispie concluded that the nineteenth century English university, on the whole, succeeded in achieving its aim—which was not chiefly that of advancing knowledge but of developing a pattern of character and inculcating a humanistic culture. Commentators were Frederick B. Artz of Oberlin and Richard J. Storr of Bowdoin.

The methodology and scope of the history of science and the significance of certain scientific ideas in the modern world were the themes of the joint session with the History of Science Society, Lynn Thorndike of Columbia in the chair. Crane Brinton of Harvard offered the view that the history of science is now at about the place that conventional history was when James Harvey Robinson called for the "new history." In addition to the history of science concerned with the how, when, and where of discoveries and their application, there must be a history of science which attempts to answer more complicated sociological questions—for example: In what kind of society does science flourish best? What is the real relation among science, technology, and economic enterprise in any one epoch? Professor Brinton asked that the history of science be regarded as part of the total history of human activity. "Darwinism and the History of Ideas" was the subject of the paper by Bert J. Loewenberg of Sarah Lawrence College. He sought to disentangle some of the semantic difficulties of our notions of Darwinism, and he pled for a careful study of the antecedents of Darwin, not seen as simply part of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the warfare of theology and science but as part of the intellectual life of the period. He noted that the history of evolution has figured chiefly in the works of philosophers, such as Lovejoy and Dewey, and that intellectual historians have never really attacked the problem. The consequence is that, from the point of view of intellectual history, no satisfactory studies of evolution exist. Richard H. Shryock of Johns Hopkins led the discussion.

III

As noted earlier in this report, one of the most conspicuous features of recent convention programs has been the relatively heavy emphasis placed on fields formerly classified as "exotic." These areas, lying outside the familiar North Atlantic and Western Mediterranean complex, have been demanding increasing attention from historians, as from statesmen. At Boston two sessions were given over to the Far East, one to the modern Near East, and one to modern India. Both the Near East session and one of those on the Far East were explicitly concerned with American interests and policies.

In the course of the session on "The United States and the Eastern Mediterranean," three papers were read: E. A. Speiser of the University of Pennsylvania on American relations with the Arab Lands; Sydney N. Fisher of Ohio State on the American interest in Turkey; and L. S. Stavrianos of Northwestern on the evolution of American policy towards Greece. All three noted the revolutionary shift which has occurred in the past three years in both the position and policy of the United States. Although Professor Speiser felt that the principal problem in relations with the Arab Lands was lack of "depth" in time, understanding, and personnel, Professor Fisher summarized a background of private interest and experience in Turkey over the past 175 years but was alarmed lest the present "rapid and somewhat flashy expansion" of United States collaboration and influence there might suddenly cease and thus destroy the "reservoir of good will" stored up by private endeavor. Again, as Professor Stavrianos indicated, though many ties had linked the Greek and American peoples for more than a century, the United States had actively intervened in Greece only with the announcement of the Truman Doctrine of March, 1947. He warned that, although the British policy of keeping Russia away from the Mediterranean, which had been taken over by the United States, appeared for the present successful, this could not be carried out indefinitely unless changes in Greece since the nineteenth century were taken into account. The rise of the Communists, the intensification of internal tensions under Metaxas and the Axis, and economic disequilibrium all mean that reliance on the Greek "Right" to stop Russia would in the long run be disastrous because its platform is based on a *status quo* which cannot last. Harvey P. Hall, editor of the *Middle East Journal,* taking the place of Kermit Roosevelt as commentator, stressed the necessity for the United States to think through its objective clearly and to avoid the pitfalls into which Great Britain and France had fallen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by permitting external factors to influence their Near Eastern policy. He was more optimistic than Speiser about the success thus far achieved, and he thought that only in Palestine had the United States been maneuvered into a false position where its fundamental aim of peace had been obscured. Roderic H. Davison of George Washington University, on the other hand, thought that Near Eastern policy must be made to fit into a global policy, and he suggested that to stop Russia and to please the peoples of the Near East offer no dilemma. The United States should try to educate the American public as well as specialists, while making the most in the Near East of the favorable impression created by private and nonpartisan American activity there. Dwight E. Lee of Clark University was in the chair.

The Near East session was paralleled by a session on "American Policy in a Revolutionary Far East," under the chairmanship of Earl H. Pritchard of the University of Chicago. Paul H. Clyde of Duke, in reviewing the "Traditional Principles of American Far Eastern Policy," pointed out that the Open Door and integrity-of-China principles can make sense only insofar as they are adjusted to the needs of a new social-revolutionary and nationalistic China. In the course of his remarks on "Current and Future Policy in China," Knight Biggerstaff of Cornell noted the absence of a progressive democratic movement in China on which the United States could depend and advocated ultimate recognition of the Communist regime. Delmer Brown of California (Berkeley) indicated that the emphasis in economic and democratic reform in Japan had shifted as a result of the threat of communism and its rise to power in China. American policy in Southeast Asia should promote genuine native nationalist movements and social and economic reforms as a countermeasure to the threat of communism, in the view of George McT. Kahin of the Johns Hopkins University. In his comments G. Nye Steiger of Simmons College urged that American policy in China should show the Chinese that we were doing something for them and not merely helping ourselves. Hugh Borton of Columbia pointed out that various other factors, such as the failure to get a peace treaty with Japan and the cost of the occupation, had contributed to a change in American policy, and Virginia Thompson of New York stressed the economic and social problems faced by the new nationalist regimes in Southeast Asia.

The other session on the Far East, though certainly not without implications for the present, was less directly focused on contemporary politics. The theme of the session, "Typical Chinese Reactions to Imported Ideas," was introduced by the chairman, Derk Bodde of Pennsylvania, who mentioned some of the conditions under which a civilization is likely to accept ideas from without and commented on the appropriateness of the subject in view of the struggle between native and imported ideas in contemporary China. Arthur F. Wright of Stanford presented a paper on "Rejection," as illustrated by Fu I (555–639), a Confucian scholar and strong opponent of Buddhism. The various factors which prevented Fu's contemporaries from sharing his personal rejection of Buddhism were suggested by Pro-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fessor Wright. "Eclecticism" was examined by Hellmut Wilhelm of the University of Washington, who traced the reaction of nineteenth century Chinese statesmen and thinkers to Western ideas and technology. Most of these men were ready to borrow technology from the West, without having any clear understanding of the ideas which had created this technology. They regarded Chinese civilization as the basic "substance" and Western civilization as a subsidiary "function"—thus revealing a dichotomy which goes far back in traditional Chinese thought. It is not surprising that the eclecticism which they attempted to build on this concept met with failure. The third type of reaction, "Acceptance," was dealt with by Benjamin Schwartz of Harvard, who analyzed the thought of Ch'en Tu-hsiu (1879–1944?), founder of the Chinese Communist party. Though Ch'en's ideas changed greatly at various stages, they were characterized throughout by an uncompromising rejection of traditional Chinese thought and wholehearted acceptance of Western ideas. This strong Westernism finally forced Ch'en to break with the more "Chinese" wing of Chinese communism, thus becoming the Trotsky of China. From the three papers the conclusion seemed to be that imported ideas stand greatest chance of success in times of national crisis, when native ideas prove themselves no longer adequate to meet the needs of the day.

The Asiatic section of the program was completed by a session on Asia, under the chairmanship of H. Donaldson Jordan of Clark University. W. Norman Brown of the University of Pennsylvania, in a paper on "The Role of the Northwest in the History of India," presented a historical explanation of the profound feeling of difference existing between the Northwest—corresponding to Western Pakistan—and the remainder of India. This difference has almost always rested on a clash of culture which is in turn due to the fact that the Northwest passes have permitted wave after wave of immigrants to enter India from Central Asia. All of Indian history illustrates this process and the consequent cultural overlap and ambivalence in the Northwest. The Punjab, most important part of the Northwest, has thus only for brief periods been assimilated, either culturally or politically, to the rest of North India and has always had important characteristics of a frontier area. Since the Northwest is still, as always, economically weak, culturally divided, and militarily vulnerable, the decision of 1947 to separate it from India has weakened the defense of both areas. Discussion, led by Walter E. Clark of Harvard, centered on the suggestion that Professor Brown had overstated the role of "Hellenism" in the history of the Northwest. A second paper, by Richard L. Park of Harvard, was on "Violence and Non-Violence in the Indian Independence Movement, with Special Reference to Bengal, 1905–1914." Avowedly a preliminary study, based not on printed sources but on interviews with former revolutionaries, it was primarily a survey of the interesting but somewhat inconclusive evidence concerning the evolution of revolutionary groups and techniques in Bengal, with suggestions as to how they were linked with the contemporary and subsequent development of Indian nationalism. Daniel Thorner of Pennsylvania introduced

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the discussion, in the course of which suggestions were made for further investigation of the general theme.

In addition to the open meeting of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History and to a reception held by the Conference on Latin American History in honor of Professor Clarence Haring, two meetings were devoted to the affairs of Latin America. At the Wednesday luncheon session of the Conference, presided over by Madaline W. Nichols of Florida State University, there were two reports on the problems to be faced by the historian interested in research in the archives of Spain. John Tate Lanning of Duke University proposed "Some Possible Reforms in the Archives of the Indies" and indicated the difficulties encountered—despite all the aid of ever-courteous and helpful archivists—in finding the desired documents in the wealth of inadequately indexed materials. Dr. Lanning also called attention to a half-century of royal cedulas which are curiously missing despite their provocative listing by archivists of the secretariats of the Council of the Indies. In his "Hints for the Investigator in the Spanish Archives," George P. Hammond of the University of California at Berkeley warned of the loss of time involved both in discovering which materials have already been utilized and in acquiring the requisite technical skill in paleography and in the use of the Spanish language; he described the various historical archives in Spain and the general environment and governmental setup under which one must learn to live and work. Dr. Ricardo Donoso, national member for Chile of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History spoke of certain recent Chilean historical publications. Beginning with a reference to the 1853 visit to Boston of Chile's great historian, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, and a note of the study at Georgetown University of Isidoro Errázuriz, Dr. Donoso turned to the recent printing of the latter's *Diario* by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Chilenos, and he mentioned as other publications of that society the volumes of the correspondence of Juan and Mariano Egaña which are of great importance in the study of the political history of Chile. He then alluded to the publication of the Archivo de don Bernardo O'Higgins, with special emphasis on the diplomatic correspondence of Antonio José de Irisarri and Miguel Zañartu, the agents sent by Chile to London and Buenos Aires to gain support for the new nation. After reference to the new *Historia de la Ingenieria en Chile* by Ernesto Greve, Dr. Donoso noted among the new volumes recently published in two long-famous Chilean collections of documents the *Mensura General de Tierras de Ginés de Lillo,* and, in conclusion, he gave his critical appreciation of the thirteen volumes of Francisco A. Encina's *Historia de Chile.*

Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania presided at the session which considered the problems of the general course in Latin American history. Three brief papers opened up some of the issues. Harold A. Bierck, jr., of the University of North Carolina reviewed the history of the course since its beginnings in the last years of the nineteenth century and discussed changes which have taken

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

place, as evidenced by an analysis of textbooks currently in print. He called for greater integration of material. In his discussion of problems of the colonial era, John F. Bannon of St. Louis University suggested that an entire semester be devoted to the period before 1830 and suggested periods and topics into which the material for the earlier period might be divided. Joseph Shafer of Syracuse, in his treatment of problems of the national period urged major attention to the history of the A.B.C. powers and Mexico. Teachers in the field, he believed, should follow the example of historians of Europe who have been bolder in interpreting the integrating forces in periods of history. He also stressed the usefulness of making a chronological break at approximately 1890. Following these papers, briefer contributions were made by members of a discussion panel. Charles Cumberland of Rutgers favored the use of a topical treatment of the national period after a short chronological outline. Alexander Marchant of Vanderbilt discussed ways in which Brazil might be dealt with in a general course, both as a unique component of the Latin American area and as an example of general tendencies. Robert Smith of Pennsylvania stressed the value in teaching social history of illustrative material drawn from the arts. Topics touched on in subsequent discussion from the floor included some criticism of the subordination of smaller countries, the necessity of planning the course to meet the needs of students not primarily interested in history, the place of the course in general education, and the problem of the one-semester course.

The third Latin American session, "International Cooperation among Historians: A Case Study," was arranged by the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History and was given over to an appraisal of the commission's work. C. H. Haring of Harvard was in the chair. Of the three principal participants, Dr. Silvio Zavala spoke for the commission, while Ralph H. Gabriel of Yale and Raymond J. Sontag of California at Berkeley considered its program from the points of view of a United States and a European historian respectively. The panel was composed of Jorge Basadre of the Organization of American States, Charles C. Griffin of Vassar, Roland D. Hussey of the University of California at Los Angeles, with Richard H. Heindel of the Social Science Research Council substituting for Dorothy Burne Goebel of Hunter, who was absent because of illness. General approval of the present activities of the commission was voiced by the speakers. During the discussion the emphasis was upon the desirability of "instrumental" projects, *i.e.,* preparation of aids to inter-American research, as the most appropriate and most needed contribution by the commission. Doubts were expressed by Professor Sontag and by most of the other speakers as to the feasibility of undertaking a comprehensive, co-operative history of the Americas, and of international co-operative scholarly projects in general. Dr. Basadre referred to the nationalistic tendencies of Latin American historians, factionalism and family and personal considerations, as obstacles in the way of effective co-operation in international historical enterprises. Professor Griffin

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stressed the lack of adequate monographic preparation for a general history of the Americas and suggested the need of a definite program for such a history into which individual studies of a comparative sort might fit. Professor Sontag called attention to the lack of balance, as between Latin and Anglo America, in articles and book reviews in the *Revista de Historia de America,* and suggested that its contents be made more truly continental in scope. During the discussion the preparation of adequate guides to the national archives of the several Latin American countries was also recommended. Dr. Waldo G. Leland summed up the sense of the meeting by stressing the principal points made above, by complimenting the commission and its chairman, Dr. Silvio Zavala, for the role of leadership they have assumed, and by suggesting the desirability of frequent conferences among historians of several countries such as that held at Monterrey, Mexico, last September.

IV

The North American section of the program, as usual, offered rich and varied fare, and one in which nearly every kind of historical taste could find nourishment. Cultural, economic, and regional topics appeared in some abundance, while foreign relations and world contacts were given even greater prominence.

Two sessions had to do with intellectual and cultural history. Scientific advance was the theme of the session on the colonial period. Henry Guerlac of Cornell acted as chairman, and Brooke Hindle of the Institute of Early American History and Culture presented a paper on "The American Revolution and the Pursuit of Science," an examination of the change in American science observable during the two decades prior to the Revolution and during the years of the war. He described the founding and growth of American scientific organizations and noted that they universally were dedicated to the glorifying of the New World and that their growth was, therefore, a parallel to the growth of independent political sentiment. Particular stress was laid on the organization of observations of the transit of Venus in 1769, an event which unified the two rival Philadelphia societies into the present American Philosophical Society. Max Savelle of the University of Washington raised the question whether any revolutionary changes actually occurred in any sphere of our national life. He pointed out that the new laws passed by the several states following independence were modifications of older ones rather than newly conceived innovations. Edmund S. Morgan of Brown drew attention to the fact that the scientific societies described by the speaker were voluntary rather than "organized from above." He directed the discussion to a general consideration of voluntary rather than state-inspired organizations in the development of America. I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard pointed out that one must view the development of American science in the perspective of the development of science in Europe, that the chief effect of the Revolution on American science was to shift allegiance from British science to French, and that one must not confuse the social history of sci-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ence and its organizations with the internal history of science itself. Dirk J. Struik of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology noted the need of considering the practical arts as well as the pure sciences, *e.g.,* surveying, bridge and canal building, and the like.

The joint session with the American Society of Church History was this year devoted to aspects of American religious development. Ralph H. Gabriel of Yale, speaking on "A People's Religion and the Formulation of the American Democratic Faith," termed Evangelical Protestantism, as it was developed on the frontier, the folk religion of America. Its characteristics were freedom from authority, individualism, enthusiasm, and emotionalism. At the other end of the scale of sophistication was the transcendentalism of men such as Emerson, whose religious outlook was equally individualistic and romantic. Both Emerson and Bushnell placed much emphasis on nature and man. Attention was also given to the expression of this type of religion, first in the white spirituals of the frontier, and in the hymnody of Lowell Mason. Sidney E. Mead of the University of Chicago analyzed "American Protestantism in the Revolutionary Epoch." American Protestantism was characterized as sectarian-pietistic—*i.e.,* individualistic, nontheological, and with lack of concern for the total community. This was the outgrowth of both the pietism and the rationalism of the eighteenth century, as both were opposed to ecclesiastical authority and tradition. But this strange alliance was broken during the Revolutionary period, when rationalism tended towards deism and what was felt to be infidelity and atheism, and a new alliance was struck between the traditional orthodoxies and the pietistic sectarian spirit.

Party history—specifically, "The Revaluation of Third Party Movements in the United States"—provided the subject for the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Roy F. Nichols of Pennsylvania, discussing the period before 1865, emphasized the multiplicity and fluidity of American parties. While the Democratic party was torn by factions—*e.g.,* the Loco-focos—and while the Whigs tended to coalesce with such groups as anti-Masons and Know-Nothings, parties and factions came and went; by 1860 there was little evidence that the United States was a two-party nation. Changes in party structures in this period were symptomatic of the state of flux in which American institutions remained before 1861. Numerous small parties often had reform motives; they were most effective when they secured small blocs in state legislatures so that they held the balance of power. The role of third parties from 1865 to 1900 was treated by Raymond C. Miller of Wayne University. Relating the subject to the general pattern of political behavior, Professor Miller held that American parties are, in general, nonrational—*i.e.,* instead of being ideological, they have taken the form of a collection of loyalties and rewards, allowing notable differences within the ranks and necessitating the reconciliation of interests among fellow partisans. He denied that minor parties have had direct political effectiveness, either as balance of power or as originators and developers of issues. Radicals or progressives, he believed, have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had more chance of producing results within major parties than as separate organizations. Even a million or more ballots for a minor party might be fundamentally only a reorganization of opposition votes. What Professor Miller considered most significant was that lesser parties, by denouncing the concentration of power, economic or political, kept alive a voice of protest in an America which was increasingly being driven to conformity. The period since 1900 was discussed by Eric F. Goldman of Princeton. His central point of emphasis was that there were "two New Deals"—that of 1912 and that of the thirties. The first was not anti-big-business in tone, avoided trust busting, and favored self-regulation of industry under federal aegis; the second followed the more traditional reform pattern by being anti-big-business in tone and antitrust in program. He urged further attention to the fundamental differences shown by these two movements. He also suggested a fresh examination of that group which he considered the most important of the third parties since 1900, the Bull Moosers—a synthesis of a labor-progressive tradition (which had never wanted to break up trusts) with a new type of business thinking. It was Dr. Goldman's view that the more influential third parties of the future will follow the Bull Moose pattern. That these papers, as will be admitted by the speakers, were provocative rather than definitive, was indicated by the subsequent spirited discussion in the hotel lobby.

Of the four sessions with a regional emphasis, two, appropriately enough, had to do with New England. The session on the "Withering" of New England was a sequel to the successful discussion held ten years ago at Washington on its "Flowering." The program committee made an intensive effort to secure for this panel representatives from sections other than the one under examination. Though in this quest they were comparatively unsuccessful, the session, under the chairmanship of Edward C. Kirkland of Bowdoin, came to unexpectedly optimistic conclusions. Howard Mumford Jones of Harvard questioned whether the alleged economic decline was anything more than a wholesome readjustment after a boom-or-bust expansion. In literature, the fine arts, and education there was no withering. Indeed the cultural leaders and institutions of the later period were equal, if not superior, to the earlier ones. Carl Bridenbaugh of the Institute of Early American History admitted that New England was, in the period of withering, divided by religious and racial tensions. He felt that the region was saved from decline by its unique capacity for self-criticism. While the luminaries of an earlier day may have been lacking in the post–Civil War years, New England enlarged its concept of culture and organized it on a new scale. The region maintained intact its concern with ethics and learning. To racial tensions Oscar Handlin of Harvard gave a more central place. New England had always faced difficulties and had always complained of them. Before the mid-century such handicaps were a challenge to action; afterwards they were occasions for the search for security. The difference in reaction was due to the disorganizing impact of immigration which divided the New England community against itself. Richard Shryock of Johns Hopkins con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cluded the discussion with an appraisal of what New England sectionalism actually meant. While the decline of the region economically and politically was genuine, it was relative rather than absolute. The trend, nonetheless, led to discouragement, caution, and nostalgia. Perhaps the last could be redressed by a more realistic and just appraisal of New England's flowering.

The American Catholic Historical Association took as the theme for its joint session a neglected aspect of New England social history, "French-Canadian Immigration into New England in the Nineteenth Century." The Rev. Robert H. Lord, St. Paul's Church, Wellesley, presided over an unusually well attended session. Iris Saunders Podea of West Long Branch, New Jersey, in a paper entitled "Quebec to 'Little Canada': the Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century," dealt with the social and economic phases of the movement into the Northeast, sketching some of the problems faced and created by the immigrant group. "The French Parish and *Survivance* in Nineteenth Century New England" was the subject of the second paper, by Mason Wade of Windsor, Vermont. He stressed the central importance of the parish in the life of the immigrants and described their attempts to establish in New England their distinctively French parishes. Both papers will be published within a few months. The discussion was led by the Rev. Edward Finnegan, S.J., of Boston College, substituting for the Rev. William L. Lucey, S.J., of Holy Cross, who was absent by reason of illness, and J. Bartlet Brebner of Columbia. At the close of the discussion period, M. Eugene Jalbert, past president of the Société Historique Franco-Américaine, congratulated the speakers for their presentation and both associations for having chosen to devote a session to the topic.

The joint session with the Southern Historical Association, with William C. Binkley of Vanderbilt University presiding, was devoted to a consideration of two selected problems in southern economic development. In a paper entitled "Factor Versus Carrier: A New View of the Ante-Bellum Southern Supply System," Bennett H. Wall of the University of Kentucky reviewed the part played by the factor in the financial operations of the ante-bellum plantation system and suggested that much of the blame for excessive costs to the planters should be transferred from the commission houses to the transportation agencies. On the basis of materials drawn from a wide range of plantation accounts, commission house records, and shipping company data, he presented evidence to show that the charges of the factor, who performed a multiplicity of services for his clients, represented a much smaller proportion of the values involved than did those of the carrier, performing the single service of transporting the produce to market. The second paper, by Henry L. Swint of Vanderbilt, was on "The Northern Interest in the Shoeless Southerners." Placing the famous remark by Secretary Perkins in its perspective as one of the latest expressions of a consciousness of the relationship between "civilizing" influences and the growth of trade, Mr. Swint gave special attention to the extent to which the movement to improve the economic and social

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

status of the freedmen after the Civil War was promoted and participated in by leading businessmen of the North, usually to their own economic advantage. He showed that those who were prominent in this work were not unaware of the material returns that might result from their activities; but he also pointed out that economic and humanitarian motives were too closely intermingled to warrant the singling out of either as the dominant influence. In discussing these papers Fred C. Cole of Tulane University stressed the danger of emphasizing economic interest as the determining factor in attempting to interpret either the ante-bellum supply system or the postwar efforts for improvement. He suggested that in both cases more historical knowledge must be presented concerning the development of southern economy before we can understand the South as it is today or as it was in any other period. What promised to become a lively discussion from the floor had to be cut short in order to avoid encroaching upon the time scheduled for the business meeting of the Association.

A curious aspect of frontier lore was recalled by Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky at the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. In his paper, piquantly entitled "Virgins, Villains, and Varmints, or Mr. Beadle's Frontier," he considered the manner in which the dime novelist treated early frontier history. Several examples were cited to illustrate the concepts which they peddled concerning Indians, bad men, woodcraft, and kindred frontier phenomena. Since these novels were sold in hundreds of thousands and were widely read, they must be regarded as important sources of interest, if not of fact, in American frontier history. The speaker was introduced by the president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Carl Coke Rister of the University of Oklahoma.

The economic emphasis in the American field was supplied chiefly by joint sessions with several of the allied societies. The Economic History Association turned to "Some Economic Problems of World War II," with Robert G. Albion of Harvard presiding over a session that included papers by Frederic C. Lane of the Johns Hopkins University on "Managing the Managers in Wartime Shipbuilding" and Jarvis M. Morse of the U.S. Treasury Department on "Selling Bonds in Two World Wars." Comment was by Constance McL. Green of the Army Historical Division, Ordnance Section, and by Lester Simonds of Boston. Professor Lane discussed the problems involved in starting new shipyards from scratch. He emphasized the difficult dilemma which the government faced in attempting to encourage output through competition and at the same time imposing adequate safeguards in matters of cost. Dr. Morse described the achievements of the Treasury Department in the marketing of government bonds, comparing the techniques and results of the department's work in the two war periods. He outlined in some detail the various methods, direct and indirect, by which bonds were sold, chiefly to the private investor. Mrs. Green indicated how Army Ordnance had handled problems similar to those mentioned by Professor Lane,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and noted that it had laid its plans carefully in advance, while Mr. Simonds, who had been in charge of bond sales in the Greater Boston area, took exception to Dr. Morse's comments on the depreciation of Liberty bonds in the 1920's. He also stressed the high percentage of World War II bonds which, at least in the Greater Boston area, were absorbed by banks and corporations.

Joint sessions with the Business Historical Society canvassed problems of research and teaching in the field of business history. In the morning meeting, held at the Parker House, three papers were presented, all dealing with research in business history. Thomas C. Cochran of New York University set forth the need for broadening business history to place it in its social context, a task which is being undertaken by the Research Center in Entrepreneurial History at Harvard University. Henrietta M. Larson of the Harvard Business School traced the development of business history at Harvard and emphasized the need of expanding this new discipline around the core of administrative problems and techniques. Mary E. Murphy of Hunter College dealt with special problems confronting the researcher in the history of public accountancy. At the joint luncheon meeting, N. S. B. Gras of the Harvard Business School traced the growth of the Business Historical Society and mapped the alternative courses of its future. At the afternoon session, held also at the Parker House, the teaching of business history was the principal theme. Herman Krooss of New York University viewed the subject at the graduate level, John G. B. Hutchins of Cornell University at the senior and graduate level, and Charles J. Kennedy of the University of Nebraska at the freshman level. All papers presented at the joint meeting with the Business Historical Society will be published in future issues of the *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*.

With the Agricultural History Society the Association collaborated in a regular session and a luncheon. At the formal session, with Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina presiding, three papers were presented on unrelated aspects of agricultural development in the United States. Russell H. Anderson of the Western Reserve Historical Society discussed informally "Agriculture among the Shakers." After tracing briefly the organization and decline of Shaker communities in the United States, Mr. Anderson emphasized the Shaker's efficiency as a workman, his interest in the development of tools and gadgets, and his progressive outlook on agriculture. Cornelius O. Cathey of the University of North Carolina discussed the contributions of the agriculturists of one state to the over-all improvements in the mechanics of farming in a paper titled "Developments in Agricultural Implements in North Carolina, 1783–1860." He concluded that North Carolinians made rapid strides in the invention and adaptation of new farm tools and implements during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Margaret R. Beattie of Vassar College presented a paper on "The Disposal of the Swamp Land Grant in Illinois," in which she traced the evolution of a policy designed to bring these lands into productive use. Miss Beattie paid particular

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attention to the investment of speculative capital in those lands. In the discussion that followed, Herbert A. Kellar of the McCormick Historical Association and Paul W. Gates of Cornell University engaged in a spirited debate on the importance of agricultural periodicals to agricultural reform and progress. Mr. Kellar maintained that the press was one of the most effective agencies of progress; contrariwise, Mr. Gates thought the press, by its practice of "puff" advertising of untried tools and half-baked ideas, sometimes checked rather than advanced progressive reforms. The luncheon conference of the society had as its chairman Paul Gates of Cornell and as its speaker John D. Black of Harvard, who took as his subject "An Agricultural Economist Looks at Agricultural History." He described his researches in the agricultural economy of New England.

Railroad history was handled in a joint session with the Lexington Group, at which Charles E. Fisher, president of the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, served as chairman. Laurence F. Whittemore, until recently president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, opened the program by suggesting the historical implications of various current railroad problems. He stressed the fact that the Transportation Act of 1920 had failed to provide the promised "fair return" to the industry and likened the 1920 situation to the present in that a major overhauling of the regulatory structure appeared necessary. Alfred Chandler of Harvard, basing his remarks on source records recently made available, put forward the thesis that Henry Varnum Poor, editor of the *American Railroad Journal* and of the famous *Poor's Manual,* was the nation's first thoroughgoing railway analyst and historian. He emphasized Poor's contribution in providing for the public the first reliable statistics and financial data of the industry. In the final paper Edward Ullman of the department of regional planning of Harvard University discussed "New Viewpoints on American Railroad Geography." With the aid of slides based on traffic data marshaled in an entirely new way, he analyzed the relation of geography to the origin and distribution of freight tonnage, especially in the heavy-traffic eastern states. He related his findings to efficiency of operation and to the problem of national defense, and concluded with a comparison and contrast of the railway traffic potential of Russia and the United States. Discussion from the floor was prolonged and vigorous.

One of the most stimulating and significant groups of sessions had to do with the external contacts—cultural, social, and economic, as well as diplomatic in the traditional sense—of the American people. Of these perhaps the broadest in scope was captioned, "American Influences Abroad: An Exploration." The session was, in fact, not only an "exploration" but a charted invitation and challenge to push forward in this neglected study of American influences abroad. The papers and discussion, presented under the chairmanship of Richard H. Heindel of the Social Science Research Council, covered a wide range of time, activities, and areas but with selected details to point up the problems, definitions, methods, and results of such studies. There was agreement that studies of American influence ought to produce balance, judgment, and new perspective, that they should be of help in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the conduct of daily affairs of state as well as aiding in the proper placement of our society in a dynamic world of interacting parts. In surveying the status of our knowledge to date, Michael Kraus of the College of the City of New York demonstrated the legitimacy of the field. His paper agreed, too, with the view set forth by Melville J. Herskovits of Northwestern of American influences in Africa as a problem for ethno-historical study and with the fertile prospectus for the future offered by Merle Curti of Wisconsin, on the breadth of data required, on the values of enlisting many disciplines and of interesting foreign historians in the subject. In the course of the discussion no doubt was left that there have been American influences abroad, in Latin America as described by Arthur P. Whitaker of Pennsylvania and in China as noted by J. K. Fairbank of Harvard. Both Gilbert Chinard of Princeton and Louis Wright of the Folger Library, drawing upon literary history, further left no doubt that the topic should be considered from the very earliest periods of American history. Franklin Scott of Northwestern stressed the need for a variety of case studies before integration and generalization can be attempted with hope of success, and he chose to analyze the effect of American law upon Norwegian law as an example of such a study. Richard O. Cummings of Brooklyn College inquired into technological influences and Eugene E. Doll of Philadelphia examined the effect of European histories of the United States as a channel of communication and images. The session did not need to dispose of the anticipated criticism that interest in the topic was somehow a retrograde step toward excessive nationalism. Curti and others urged comparative studies on the impacts made by other countries. The conclusion was that it was not only appropriate to consider the varied influences of a nation upon peoples beyond its frontier as a part of national history, but also that such studies would go far to building up the suitable content of world history and international relations, would "yield generalizations," as Herskovits noted, "that will contribute to a fuller understanding of the processes of human civilization as a whole."

A session which, at least by implication, was not without a certain timeliness was that on "The American Response to 'Foreign Ideologies.'" Introduced by ex-Congressman Thomas H. Eliot of Boston, the first speaker, Professor Dumas Malone of Columbia, discussed "Jefferson and the French Revolution." He warned against confusing foreign policy with attitude toward a foreign ideology. Discussing Jefferson and the Revolution, he suggested that Jefferson, sympathetic with its early purposes, derived his distrust of urban proletariats in part from his familiarity with the Terror. John M. Blum of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in a paper on "Nativism, Anti-Radicalism, and the Foreign Scare, 1917–1920," emphasized the part of political agitation in intensifying the persistent antiforeign and antiradical prejudices which were particularly virulent among insecure groups. Recognizing the dangers of communism but carried away by hysteria, the American people, he suggested, rejected statesmanlike plans for postwar domestic and European reconstruction in favor of a witch hunt. The commentator, Ray A. Billington of Northwestern observed that nativism had

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flowered in various earlier periods of unrest and insecurity. In the short discussion that followed, during which the remarks of the speakers were amplified, Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale noted that even in periods of hysteria Americans had enjoyed substantial civil and personal liberties.

More directly concerned with foreign affairs in the classic sense was the session on "World War I and American Opinion," presided over by Thomas A. Bailey of Stanford. Speaking on "The Problem of American Intervention, 1917: An Historical Retrospect," Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern critically surveyed the more important writings on the subject, urged a reconsideration of generally accepted views, and pointed to certain neglected fields of research, particularly in regard to security, congressional opinion, and American public opinion. Selig Adler of the University of Buffalo, in a paper on "War Guilt and American Disillusionment, 1918–1928," pointed out that revisionist propaganda, particularly in Russia and Germany, by holding that the Allies were largely responsible for the coming of the war in 1914, had an important effect on American public opinion. Among other things it resulted in the disillusionist complex which helped encompass the defeat of the League of Nations and which crystallized the strong isolationist sentiment of the 1920's and 30's. The discussion leader, Richard W. Van Alstyne of the University of Southern California, found the fundamental cause of American entry into World War I in a conception of security which he defined with reference to the relative power position of the United States. Cumulative experiences and impressions of Germany, he declared, convinced the American mind by 1917 that that country was a sinister power bent upon ruling the world. The unrestricted submarine campaign merely clinched the matter. During the discussion period Professors Fay, Schmitt, and Bemis, all of whose names were mentioned in the papers, took the floor to present their points of view or to add other pieces of information.

The final session on American foreign relations was arranged, less paradoxically than at first appears, by the Modern History Section for its luncheon. Crane Brinton of Harvard, chairman of the section, presided, and S. E. Gleason of Cambridge, Massachusetts, presented a paper on "The Changing Temper of American Opinion from 1939 to Pearl Harbor" and the reaction of President Roosevelt to these changes. The gist of his argument was that the real problem confronting the historian of this period was not so much to explain why the President had allegedly ignored or deceived popular sentiment. It was rather to explain why he so often chose to "appease" the anti-interventionists at seeming cost to the national security.

V

Although the bulk of the sessions had to do, in one way or another with the content of history, other matters of importance to the historian were by no means ignored. Two meetings explored some of the problems faced by the historian as

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

teacher. The session devoted to the topic, "The College History Curriculum and the Independent School," was opened by Richard K. Irons of Groton School. As a representative of the independent schools, Dr. Irons spoke on the subject, "Do the Colleges Know What To Do with a Well-trained Freshman?" and was inclined to answer his question in the negative. He also raised the question whether the independent schools should, in the light of the present tendency to introduce "problems" or "key idea" courses in the freshman year, go back to a solid course in European history for the sixth form. Edward W. Fox of Cornell University followed with a paper on "What Can Be Expected of an Introductory Survey Course?" in which he emphasized that the average entering freshman is much more poorly prepared than a generation ago. He declared that the freshman course must be kept sufficiently flexible in method and organization to present a challenge even to Dr. Irons' "well-trained freshman." He also urged that the introductory course should maintain high academic standards and provide both a solid body of content and an introduction to historical method. He paid much attention to the ever-baffling problems of chronological scope and lecture-discussion technique. The discussion was opened by Edmond S. Meany of Mt. Hermon School, who pointed out that the student from the independent school often seemed to lose his initial impetus and asked what could be done to solve this problem. Dr. Meany also related the general question to the public-school student. Evalyn A. Clark of Vassar College, in continuing the discussion, declared that Vassar offered several courses in history to freshmen and thus made appeals to students with various preparations. Miss Clark also brought out that Vassar had held conferences with preparatory school teachers in an effort to solve the transitional problems between school and college. There followed a very spirited discussion from the floor with participation from about a dozen speakers representing universities, colleges, junior colleges, independent schools, and high schools, and all parts of the country except the Pacific Coast. The meeting was closed long before the discussion had exhausted itself, and several people expressed to the chairman, John G. Gazley of Dartmouth College, their hope that a session dealing with teaching problems might be made a regular feature of the meetings of the American Historical Association.

The other session directly related to the teaching function of the historian was the joint session with the National Council for the Social Studies. This program, Chester M. Destler of Connecticut College in the chair, began with the presentation by Howard R. Anderson of the Office of Education (Washington, D.C.) of a statistical report on the status of American history in public high schools. This revealed wide variations in the amount of instructional time allotted to courses in United States history there and the heavy encroachment on this that has resulted from the inclusion of local and state history, and by the now customary allotment of twenty per cent of the teaching time to current affairs. Following this William H. Cartwright of Boston University presented a historical review of "Values Claimed for the Teaching of American History." This paper revealed that re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ligious and moral training have ceased to be stated objectives of instruction in American history as the result of the secularization of education on all levels (save in parochial schools). Citizenship training, the cultivation of an enlightened patriotism, and the liberalizing effect of historical studies continued to be stressed. Earlier emphasis upon intellectual discipline as an objective has been supplanted by the attempt to develop historical skills. The demands of organized minorities that their aspirations be included in the teaching values fostered by instruction in American history is a relatively recent development, in the case of such groups as the Catholics and Negroes. The program provoked an unusual amount of discussion. Both speakers were engaged for a considerable period after the formal program in informal conferences with interested persons.

In the same general connection may be mentioned the interesting joint session with the American Association for State and Local History, in which were discussed the launching of two important projects, the magazine *American Heritage* and the "American States Series." S. K. Stevens, Pennsylvania state historian and associate editor of *American Heritage,* summarized the objectives of the association and suggested that the two enterprises had emerged naturally from its basic program. Earle W. Newton, editor of *American Heritage* and director of the Vermont Historical Society, outlined the objectives and principles of *American Heritage* and the "States Series," emphasizing the combined textual and pictorial technique employed. Mary E. Cunningham, associate editor of *American Heritage,* elaborated on the value of the magazine for school use, and Albert B. Corey, New York state historian, and Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, chairman of the session, made some general observations and predicted success for the publications which had got off to so auspicious a start.

Waldo Gifford Leland spoke at the luncheon of the Society of American Archivists. He traced the organized activities of American archivists from the First Conference of Archivists, which met in December, 1909, in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association, to the Eighth Conference, which was held in 1917. At the conclusion of his remarks the chairman, Clifford K. Shipton of Harvard, on behalf of the society presented Mr. Leland with a certificate of honorary membership in the Society of American Archivists.

Two sessions were focused on questions of research materials, one having to do with the discovery of a mass of relatively unexploited Burke manuscripts in England and the other with the policies of our government toward historical research and writing. The former was described in a session entitled, perhaps a bit misleadingly, "Britain in the Revolutionary Age." Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library substituted as chairman for Dixon Wecter, who was unable to attend the convention. Ross J. S. Hoffman of Fordham University reported on the mass of Burke, Rockingham, and Fitzwilliam papers from Wentworth Woodhouse, which he characterized as a rich new mine of material for studying the age of the French and American Revolutions. He noted, for example, Burke's letter book as agent

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the New York Assembly, with copies of all his communications from 1771 to 1775. No use whatever has been made of the Rockingham and Fitzwilliam private papers since they were buried in the cellars and muniment rooms of Wentworth Woodhouse. "Problems of the Burke Correspondence" was the subject of a paper by Thomas W. Copeland of the University of Chicago. He told of some 1,600 scattered Burke letters in print and manuscript now being indexed by him and he discussed briefly the possibilities of their publication. Over a hundred were present and, although the subject was not of the type to produce vigorous discussion, much interest was shown after the meeting had been adjourned.

The subject matter of the other session on research materials was perhaps of even more immediate concern to most of the members. Under the chairmanship of Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University, R. A. Newhall of Williams College, Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania, Guy A. Lee, and Ray S. Cline, both of Washington, explored some of the relationships between "The Historian and the Federal Government." The discussion started with a portrayal of the extensive interest of the government in historical activity, including historical research and writing and the preservation and administration of manuscripts, records, and other historical evidence. The general opinion of those on the panel and of numerous speakers from the floor seemed to be that programs such as those of the National Park Service, the National Archives, the Army Historical Division, the Division of Historical Policy Research of the State Department, and the former War Records Section of the Bureau of the Budget represent substantial accomplishments; that there remain many unsolved problems which seriously jeopardize the successful conduct of historical activity in the federal government; that the solutions of these are matters of great interest to historians; and that, specifically, the American Historical Association should take positive steps to assure greater co-operation between the historian and the federal government.

It is the prudent custom of program chairmen to conclude their reports with apologies, offered in advance, to those whose remarks have been omitted, misquoted, or distorted. Limitations of space and historical understanding have made it inevitable that many significant points will have been missed and that color and life will have suffered even where facts and conclusions are not actually misrepresented. To those who have been so wronged one can only hold out the hope, by way of mild consolation, that from such errors of transmission and interpretation committed at their expense they may gain a more realistic appreciation of the imperfect nature of historical evidence itself.

Harvard University DAVID OWEN

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Year's Business, 1949

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1949[1]

During this week in other cities and in other large hotels the executive officers of other learned societies are appearing before their membership to report on the year's activities. All these reports will have something in common with the report I am presenting. But they will lack one quality, one note that appertains solely to this report to you. This distinguishing feature is that, although I report to you, I also report, by the terms of our charter, to the Congress of the United States and, through the circulation of this report, to the nation at large. I do not apprehend, and apprehend is the right word, that either the Congress or the nation is standing on tiptoes of impatient expectancy to hear what historians have to say for themselves. They might well be. At the moment I am only concerned to point out to you the peculiar formal legal responsibility we assumed in 1889 and to thank our stars that our report is not being made to a totalitarian regime. Your secretary has spent a good many years in the business of trying to comprehend, explain, and defend what some laymen consider the vagaries and unorthodoxies of the academic mind. Nevertheless, I would rather be excused from explaining to a "politburo" that society should be glad to pay its scholars for not hewing to the party line. After twenty-eight winters in Minnesota I don't want to be exiled to the Aleutians.

And now let's look at the record for 1949. In recent months, for reasons I shall not detail, I have been asked to estimate the disposition of my time and interests between the editorship of the *Review* and the details of the Association's routine business, such as the recruitment of members. I have honestly replied that, though the two are not wholly separable, I was most concerned that the *Review* should be representative of the highest standards in American historical scholarship. That meant not only attention to the body articles but to the choice of books to review and of competent reviewers to discuss them. It meant also a full recognition that the bibliographies of current articles prepared by the section editors are a matter of great importance at present to foreign scholars as well as to our own members. Until the once great European periodicals are back to their former contents and standards, the responsibilities of the *Review* in providing as wide a coverage as possible of current historical work by review or by listing is heavy and inescapable. This in part explains why the fifty-fourth volume is larger than its predecessor, and with increased costs will return less profit. The distribution of the usual twelve articles, including the presidential address, shows five in American history, three in European, one in ancient, one in medieval, and one in historiography. The "Notes and Suggestions" section also carried more in American history. The increase in long reviews, a long review being about four hundred words or more, was about

[1] Read at the business meeting of the Association, December 29, 1949.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ten per cent over the preceding volume and the short notices decreased about the same per cent. Of the ninety-two articles and notes and suggestions submitted, twenty-two were accepted and three are still under consideration. It would be inaccurate to use the word "rejected" for the sixty-seven that were returned, a number that has not varied in the last three years. Of course, a few came in from stray writers who knew only the address of the *Review* and had evidently never read it to see what it did publish. The others were generally satisfactory in scholarship but better suited to other periodicals or so narrow in scope as to lack significance in a quarterly of such wide coverage as the *Review*. The number of subscribers increases with the membership and that increase is unpredictable and leaves the publishers short when, as in October, a considerable number want to begin with a new volume. I regret to say there is a considerable shortage of the October issue this year and the Macmillan Company is anxious to buy back that issue from anyone who wants to part with it.

Turning now to the Association's business as it is conducted by its committees, I shall summarize briefly. There are each year about seventeen committees or delegations that send in reports. Certain of these had nothing to report this year because they did not award prizes in the odd-numbered years, or had no worth-while competition, or the organizations where they represent us made no changes in their activities. This applies to the following committees: the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, the George Louis Beer Prize, the John H. Dunning Prize, the American Academy of Classical and Medieval Studies in Rome, and the American *Yearbook*.

The Watumull Prize Committee with Professor Das as chairman has made an award which will be announced at the annual dinner this evening. (See p. 732 above.)

The Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Fellowship has reported its award, which will also be announced at the annual dinner. The committee is carrying on considerable publishing activity on the basis of previous awards. The volume by Lewis Hanke on *The Struggle for Justice in the Spanish Conquest of America* appeared in the spring of 1949. The volume by Arthur E. Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias,* is to appear in March. Dr. Motten's *Mexican Silver and the Enlightenment* is now in page proof. Dr. Fleming's *John William Draper and the Religion of Science* has just been sent to the printer. All these volumes will bear the imprint of the University of Pennsylvania Press. The committee regards its present program as a five-year experiment on which it will later report in detail to the Council.

Professor Richard B. Morris reports that the Littleton-Griswold Committee will publish this year the South Carolina Chancery volume[2] and is pushing the preparation of the volumes listed in the program they presented last year. Their present resources are about $30,000.

The Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund with Professor Ray Billing-

[2] This volume is now available (*Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671–1779,* edited by Anne King Gregorie. Washington, American Historical Association, 1950, pp. 676, $10.00 [American Legal Records, Volume 2]).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ton as chairman has just published through the Cornell Press the volume by Michael Kraus entitled *The Atlantic Civilization,* and there will shortly appear from the Harvard Press Louis C. Hunter's *Steamboats on the Western Rivers: An Economic and Technological History,* sponsored jointly with the Committee on Research in Economic History and the American Council of Learned Societies.[3] Because of a later date for submission, the committee has made no selection from manuscripts submitted this year.

The Committee on Business Records has completed its main task by co-operating with other interested groups to set up the National Records Management Council with a grant of $35,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation for the initiation of its work (see *American Historical Review* for April, 1949). The Council has chosen Professor Thomas Cochran to represent the Association in the new organization for a term of three years.

The chairman of the Committee on Documentary Reproduction, Professor Edgar Erickson, reports that "during the past year the committee in conjunction with the Library of Congress has concentrated its efforts primarily on attempts to qualify microcopying activities within the scope of the Fulbright educational program in those countries where the program has been activated." Professor Erickson reports that two present holders of fellowships are in Paris where by reason of additional funds from the Library of Congress they will be able to photograph catalogs of French source material. In addition the project of micro-printing *British Session Papers* is being resumed, and in 1950 the volumes for 1826–47 (about a thousand volumes) will be completed at no increase in price to the subscribing libraries.

It is with regret that I summarize the report of the Committee on the *Annual Report.* The regret stems from the fact that it is the last report of Professor Lowell Ragatz, its able and conscientious chairman during all the years I have been your executive secretary. His call to Ohio State University has led him to resign because by the nature of its duties this committee, which is a liaison between the Smithsonian Institution and the Government Printing Office and my office, is necessarily drawn from members residing in Washington. Dr. Ragatz calls attention to the appearance of the *Writings on American History* for 1939–40. It is the last volume to be prepared by Grace Gardner Griffin. To her many years of distinguished service he pays a merited tribute to which all scholars in this country and abroad who are concerned with American history will heartily subscribe. The years from 1941 to 1947, if ever they are covered, will be done in summary and highly selective fashion. We are now concentrating on the volume for 1948 supported by an appropriation of $15,000 made by the Council last year to cover eighteen months. It is hoped that with the support of members of this Association the Library of Congress can add an item to its budget that will enable it to carry

[3] This work is now available (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1949, pp. xiii, 684, $10.00).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on this great bibliographical enterprise. When the time comes, it will be a happy coincidence if the members know the name of their congressmen. To return to Dr. Ragatz' report. This year the Government Printing Office sent out three volumes of *Spain in the Mississippi Valley,* translated and edited by Dr. Kinnaird of the University of California. All of this has piled us a heavy printing bill, but a conservative estimate leaves us with a balance of $4,000 on the Smithsonian books. With this we hope to begin work on the greatest single publishing enterprise we have ever undertaken, the printing of the consolidated index to all the volumes of the *Writings on American History* except 1939–40. Unfortunately, Mr. Matteson, who for years has been compiling it as a labor of love, did not live to give his work the last touches. He died in Cambridge in August of this year. Here again I would underline in the name of the Association the tribute Dr. Ragatz pays this quiet, self-effacing, almost forgotten scholar who came down to us from the generation of those who founded the Association and the *Review.* But he will not be forgotten. The index will be a monument any scholar could cherish for himself, and his will makes this Association the sole beneficiary of something like $80,000 to enable it to carry on the kind of services to which he devoted his life. He had earlier this year made a gift to the Association of the two thousand dollars held for compensation to him for work on the index. Dr. Ragatz' report, when printed, will tell you how this and other final directions were brought about when he and I and Mr. Matteson himself became deeply concerned about the precarious prospect raised by his health and advanced years.

The Committee on Honorary Members has recommended for election, and the Council has approved, Sir Charles Webster of England and Professor Alfons Dopsch of Vienna. There are now no vacancies in the normal panel of fifteen honorary members.

Professor Shepard Clough, reporting for our delegates to the Social Science Research Council, lists a considerable number of projects that are of interest to historians and in which, I may add, our delegates or other historians have a considerable part. The committee on historiography plans to issue a monograph on "those concepts and methods in other social sciences which may be of use in historical research." The committee on Slavic studies arranged for the publication of the weekly *Current Digest of the Soviet Press.* Area research and its methods are being appraised. In this field five fellowships in history were awarded, and of the thirty-five grants-in-aid awarded by the Council fourteen were in the field of history.

The American Council of Learned Societies is now operating under its new constitution and new director, Dr. Charles Odegaard, formerly of the University of Illinois. Each constituent society now has one delegate instead of two. Our delegate, Professor Joseph Strayer of Princeton, reports that the A.C.L.S. is concentrating on four fields—international intellectual co-operation, training of personnel in the humanities, opening up new areas of study, and improving facilities

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for scholarly publication. The problem of the training of personnel is perhaps at the moment closest to our interests. The fellowships for graduate students in history permit them to work in an ancillary field where their training is weak or to concentrate on the learning of a non-European language. This year for the first time fellowships were given to outstanding seniors in liberal arts colleges to finance their first year of graduate study, and in the near future the Council hopes to extend aid to young faculty members whose responsibilities and finances make difficult the continuation of their research.

The Committee on Government Publications has given evidence of the continuing interest of this Association in the various activities of the Department of State in publishing the sources for diplomatic history. The lag in these publications is not the fault of your committee or the department officials in charge. It is due rather to the limited funds available for this important task. Later in this meeting resolutions prepared by the committee will give an opportunity for reaffirming, as we do each year, our interest in this phase of the work of the Department of State.

Professor Chester M. Destler, who has been our active representative on the Board of *Social Education,* is able to report some improvement in contents under the new editor. He feels, however, its columns are weighted disproportionately in favor of methodology for the lower grades and high schools and not rich enough in fresh substantive material that would bring the teacher in touch with current scholarship. For this shortcoming the members of this Association are in my opinion chiefly responsible. If we are unhappy about this but unwilling to assume personal responsibility in supplying matter to restore the balance, we should withdraw from our connection. The balance we hold in trust from the money given for the report of the Committee on the Social Studies, headed by Professor A. C. Krey, is slowly decreasing. It is now about $4,500.

One other matter has been the task of the central office, namely, co-operation with the French committee that is arranging the program and business of the meeting, August 28 to September 3 in Paris, of the International Historical Congress. All decisions in these matters rest finally with the French committee. Your representative on the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Professor Donald McKay of Harvard, and I, have co-operated in every way during the past year. Dr. McKay at some inconvenience has attended meetings in London of the executive committee. This co-operation shows up in our annual budget in two ways: (1) expenses of our delegate and (2) the fee paid for the preparation of the American section of the international historical bibliography for 1948 and for the coming year. There is a difference of opinion about the usefulness of this bulletin, but we have so far deferred to the opinion of those European colleagues who think it important, particularly at this time when they find it difficult to know what scholars are doing in other, even neighboring, lands. All American historians

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who for any reason will be in Europe this coming summer should plan, if possible, to attend the Congress.

In the opening paragraph of this report I indicated that we could consider history in a healthy condition because its writing and teaching are free and untrammeled. So far as this Association is concerned, I can report that it is also healthy, as indicated by a further increase in membership to a total on December 15 of 5,511 members.

I should like to close with this wholly optimistic paragraph. I feel obliged, however, to add a gloss to both points in it. The steady increase in membership is accompanied by mounting costs of the operation and services of the Association and its organ, the *Review*. It is possible, as I indicated last year, that we shall have to follow the example of other similar organizations and increase both the annual and the life membership dues. A year from now the picture will be clearer and these matters can be decided in the light of additional data. It is my hope that no change will be necessary.

In the matter of freedom of teaching we can find encouragement both as citizens and as historical students dwelling in an ever-changing world. None of us is unconscious that change produces uneasiness and resistance. That is normal, and in normal times the adjustments and bridging compromises are made in our democratic society. This, however, has not been the process that brought in the last thirty years the greatest change in our national thinking, the change from isolation to world responsibilities. It is true we never were isolated, but we thought we were, and two world wars, not historians, taught us we were not. A major readjustment such as this in our nation's life within a generation has its nearest parallel in the Civil War and its aftermath. But our day adds the spreading and corroding fear of another world power. There is slight ground for fearing we will imitate the Soviet institutions and economy. There is the subtler danger that in the battle for men's minds we will unconsciously drift little by little into the sacrifice of those freedoms which forever distinguish democracy from either communism or fascism. Scholarship and teaching cannot remain free and immune if we oppose communism by a domestic brand of fascism. The methods, not the purpose, of loyalty investigations and the doctrine of guilt by association have put the physical scientists and civil servants in the front line of attack. In the homelands of dictatorship it is history and the social sciences that have first been brought to heel. A Russian historian, whom we might have considered a few years ago as an honorary member, is today the pitiful mouthpiece of blatant distortions of the history of his country and ours. It is for these reasons that we must underline the present freedoms of scholarship in America. But it would seem strange to a free historian a generation hence if he could find recorded nowhere in the proceedings of this Association some sense of the perils to teaching and scholarship that prevail in these confused and uneasy years.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL STATLER, BOSTON, DECEMBER 27, 1949, 2:00 P.M.

Present: Conyers Read, President; Samuel E. Morison, Vice-President; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary; A. E. R. Boak, Charles W. Cole, Paul Knaplund, J. G. Randall, Max H. Savelle, Arthur P. Whitaker, Carl Wittke, Councilors; Sidney B. Fay, William S. Ferguson, Charles H. McIlwain, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Thomas J. Wertenbaker, former Presidents; Thomas A. Bailey, Pacific Coast Branch; Silvio Zavala of the University of Mexico and Ricardo Donoso of Santiago, Chile, guests.

President Read called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the 1948 Council meeting were approved as published in the April, 1949, issue of the *Review* (pp. 759–65).

Mr. Ford summarized his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor and commented briefly on the work carried out by standing committees. (See pp. 758 ff. above.)

The Treasurer, Mr. Buck, reviewed the financial statement for the fiscal year 1948–49 which he later summarized at the business meeting. The financial assets of the Association on August 31, 1949, amounted to $356,201.58 of which $158,645.16 is unrestricted and $197,556.42 restricted. The disbursements of unrestricted funds exceeded receipts by $5,483.67. However, the disbursements include $5,000 transferred to the Fiduciary Trust Company for investment and a contribution of $5,000 toward editorial expenses of *Writings on American History*.

Mr. Buck then reported for the Finance Committee presenting the amended budget for the current year and the proposed budget for the next fiscal year. After full discussion the Council voted to approve the budget as amended which increased the expenses of the International Committee of Historical Sciences from $850 to $1,000 and the allowance to the program chairman for the 1950 meeting from $125 to $200. The expenditures in excess of items in last year's budget were also approved.

By consensus the Council voted that all balances anywhere held to the account of the Radio Committee and of the Americana Committee be transferred to the trustees for investment with the specific understanding that these funds be subject to recall by the Council if need thereof arises.

Mr. Ford reported on the work of the Committee on Committees which found little revision in committee membership for 1950. Mr. Ford recommended and the Council agreed that the Committee on Business Records be discontinued since this committee completed its main task by co-operating with other interested groups in setting up the National Records Management Council.

The following list of members and delegates of the Association was approved by the Council:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Committee on Committees.—Charles A. Barker, the Johns Hopkins University—term expires December, 1950; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky—term expires December, 1951; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); S. Everett Gleason, jr., 14 Craigie Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts—terms expires December, 1950; Robert J. Kerner, University of California, Berkeley—term expires December, 1950.

Committee on Honorary Members.—Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Department of State, chairman; Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C.; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Lewis Hanke, Library of Congress; Raymond J. Sontag, University of California, Berkeley; John K. Fairbank, Harvard University; Geroid T. Robinson, Columbia University; E. Malcolm Carroll,* Duke University.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Clarence H. Matterson, Iowa State College, chairman; Henry Cord Meyer, Pomona College, Claremont, California; Sidney Painter, the Johns Hopkins University.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Howard M. Ehrmann, University of Michigan, chairman; Harold C. Deutsch,* University of Minnesota; Oron J. Hale,* University of Virginia.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley, chairman; David Potter, Yale University; Bell I. Wiley, Emory University, Georgia.

Committee on the Publication of the Annual Report.—Philip Hamer, National Archives, chairman; Solon J. Buck, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); St. George L. Sioussat, Washington, D. C.; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); A. Curtis Wilgus,* George Washington University.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.—Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Dorothy Burne Goebel, Hunter College; Philip Davidson, Vanderbilt University; Henrietta Larson, Forest Hills, New York; C. Vann Woodward,* the Johns Hopkins University.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.—Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, chairman; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; George Howe, Washington, D. C.; Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Richard B. Morris, Columbia University, chairman; Zechariah Chafee, jr., Harvard University; John Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George Haskins, University of Pennsylvania Law School; Mark D. Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, 744 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey.

* New member this year.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Taraknath Das, Columbia University, chairman—term expires December, 1951; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin—term expires December, 1950; Tyler Dennett,[1] Hague, New York.

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; Cornelius W. de Kiewiet, Cornell University; Austin P. Evans, Columbia University; Milton R. Gutsch, University of Texas; Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley; Louis Knott Koontz, University of California, Los Angeles; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Easton Rothwell, Stanford University; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University.

Committee on Government Publications.—Jeannette P. Nichols, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, chairman; Samuel F. Bemis, Yale University; Richard J. Purcell,[2] Catholic University.

Delegates of the American Historical Association.—American Academy of Classical and Medieval Studies in Rome: T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College; Austin P. Evans, Columbia University. *American Council of Learned Societies:* Joseph Strayer, Princeton University. *American Yearbook Supervisory Board:* Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania. *International Committee of Historical Sciences:* Donald C. McKay, Harvard University; Philip E. Mosely, Columbia University. *National Records Management Council:* Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1952. *Social Education:* Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Chester McArthur Destler, Connecticut College. *Social Science Research Council:* Shepard B. Clough, Columbia University—term expires December, 1951; Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri—term expires December, 1952; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1950.

Professor Whitaker presented a brief report of the work carried out by the Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund. Copies of the committee report in full were mimeographed and distributed in advance to Council members. Since the Beveridge Fellowship competition for 1950 will be the fifth and last under the experimental five-year plan approved by the Council in December, 1945, the committee expressed the hope that the Council would offer advice and criticism of the present plan, whether this plan should be continued with or without substantial modifications, or a different kind of plan adopted in its place. Though the fellowship plan had been very successful in increasing competition for the use of the Beveridge Fund, the committee felt that the present plan was not entirely satisfactory in making the fund as useful to historians and historical scholarship as it ought to be. The plan, for one thing, had not evoked as great a response among the more mature historians as had been hoped for; also, a large proportion of the best books in American history published since the establishment of the fellowship

[1] Died December 29, 1949.
[2] Died January 3.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were not submitted in the competition. With these points in mind, the committee recommended that the cash award of $1,500 be discontinued or reduced with part of the award applied toward publication costs. It was felt also that the term "fellowship" was a handicap to wider competition. After discussion, the Council gave approval of authority to the Albert J. Beveridge Committee to change the term from "fellowship" to "prize," to award a cash prize of $500, and to devote to the publication of accepted manuscripts funds hitherto used for the fellowship.

The Council next considered the question of the terms of the George Louis Beer Prize. Because of lack of competition, the committee thought that the difficulty in receiving manuscripts or books for consideration may arise from the phrase, "actually submitted" set up in the stipulations of the award. After reading the George Louis Beer bequest and upon Mr. Ford's recommendation, the Council approved the interpretation of the terms of the bequest in such a way as to allow the committee to obtain or consider copies of any books that fell within the field of the prize.

Upon motion made and carried the Council elected to honorary membership in the Association Sir Charles Webster of the London School of Economics and Dr. Alfons Dopsch of Austria. This increases the number of honorary members to fifteen.

Mr. Ford, as Managing Editor of the *Review,* nominated Dr. Carl Bridenbaugh of the Institute of Early American History and Culture to succeed Professor Curtis Nettels of Cornell University on the Board of Editors. The Council approved this nomination.

By unanimous vote, the Council re-elected Dean Elmer Ellis of the University of Missouri as delegate to the Social Science Research Council for the years 1950–52. Newly elected were Professor Thomas C. Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania as representative to the National Records Management Council for the years 1950–52 and Professors Donald C. McKay of Harvard University and Philip E. Mosely of Columbia University as representatives to the International Committee of Historical Sciences for the years 1950–55.

Professor Thomas A. Bailey of Stanford University reported briefly for the Pacific Coast Branch, which now has a membership of 627 and is in a sound financial condition. Its meetings this year were held on the campus of Mills College at Oakland, California, December 28–30.

Upon motion made and seconded, the budget for *Social Education* was approved.

Mr. Buck read a brief report on the *Writings on American History*. At its meeting in 1948 the Council made available to the Library of Congress for the period ending July 1, 1950, the sum of $15,000 for personnel to prepare the copy for the *Writings* with the understanding that the Library of Congress would include in its budget at least $10,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1951, and similar yearly appropriations thereafter. During the past year Dr. James R. Masterson was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

appointed editor of the *Writings* and work was begun on the compilation and preparation of copy. Mr. Buck is convinced that the editor will be able to complete the volume for 1948 and possibly for 1949, and it is hoped that the years 1941–47 will be covered ultimately. Mr. Buck believes that, if the sum of $10,000 is available for several years, the work could be brought up to date in the course of four or five years. The publication of the *Writings* will be the responsibility of the Association as part of its *Annual Report*. The Government Printing Office has recommended certain changes in the format that it believes will result in a substantial saving of money and work. After some discussion the Council agreed with the recommendations made.

Mr. Ford reported on the printing and sale of the 1949 *List of Doctoral Dissertations*. Five hundred copies were printed at a cost of $356.24 and 302 copies at $1.00 each have been sold to date. The expense of this publication was paid for from the Jameson Fund.

Although no action was required, Mr. Ford commented briefly on the payment of extra postage ($572.66) on government publications. Regular postage was necessary for the *Annual Reports* distributed during the past year because the packages exceeded the weight limit for franking privileges.

Mr. Ford next brought up for consideration the question of permanent headquarters in the Library of Congress. Reference was made to a letter received from the Librarian in June, who informed the Executive Secretary that the Association must find new quarters because of the limited study facilities for scholars and government representatives. After Mr. Ford had thoroughly explained to the Librarian the relation of the Association to the Library, a matter which was presumably settled five years ago, the Librarian deferred action until the question of space should be reconsidered. In the discussion that followed, the Council gave authority to Mr. Ford to look for suitable quarters in Washington and to take the initial steps in securing such quarters in the event the Association is notified at any time that space in the Library is no longer available.

On motion made and carried the Council voted to put into the Jameson Fund the $2,000 originally intended as compensation to the late Mr. Matteson for his work on the index to the *Writings on American History* but returned by him as a gift to the Association.

Mr. Ford next announced that by the will of Mr. Matteson the Association became the sole beneficiary of something like $80,000 to enable the Association to carry on the kind of services to which Mr. Matteson devoted his life. The Council voted to accept this gift under the conditions stipulated in the will and to make provision for the completion of the index to the *Writings*.

The Council voted to publish the current membership list of the Association as part of the *Annual Report* for 1949. (See p. 771 below.)

Mr. Ford submitted for consideration several requests made by worthy organizations and societies for the use of the mailing-list stencils of the Association. After a brief discussion and upon motion made and carried, the Executive Secretary was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

given authority to permit the use of the stencils by other similar societies and cultural organizations whenever he deems it advisable.

The Council approved the increase in fee for Association membership in the American Council on Education from $10 to $25.

A request by Professor Helen M. Cam of Harvard and Radcliffe for support of the International Commission for Histories of the Assemblies of Estates was reviewed. No action was taken but the Council gave its endorsement without financial obligations to the work being carried out by the commission.

Mr. Ford reported that several letters had been received on the matter of providing at future meetings conference rooms for graduate students and prospective employers. It was agreed to make available, if possible, at future meetings an information desk for the purpose of bringing students and prospective employers together.

On motion the Council voted to hold the 1952 meeting of the Association in Washington, D. C. The meeting in 1950 will be in Chicago and in 1951 in New York.

The Council approved the selection of Professor Fred Harrington of the University of Wisconsin as chairman of the program committee for 1950 and of Dr. Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library as chairman of local arrangements, each chairman being authorized to complete the roster of his committee.

Nominations of members to serve on the Executive Committee were next called. The Council voted to elect Samuel E. Morison, chairman, Conyers Read, Thomas J. Wertenbaker, and Robert L. Schuyler to act with the Executive Secretary and Treasurer.

Mr. Ford, whose term of office as Executive Secretary expires September, 1950, was unanimously re-elected for three years.

The Council appointed Professors Paul Knaplund and Charles W. Cole as a committee to present at the business meeting resolutions expressing the appreciation of the Association to the various committees and agencies and persons responsible for the efficient handling of the problems involved in the arrangements for the 1949 meeting.

Inasmuch as the ad hoc committee, appointed by the Council at its 1948 meeting to study the problem of the arrangement and use of manuscript collections of personal papers since the Civil War, was unable to make its formal report at this time, the Council approved the continuation of the committee to complete its study.

There being no further business, the Council adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL STATLER, BOSTON, DECEMBER 29, 1949, 4:00 P.M.

President Conyers Read called the meeting to order with about one hundred members present. It was unanimously voted to approve the minutes of the last

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meeting as printed in the April, 1949, issue of the *American Historical Review* (pp. 765–67).

Mr. Ford read his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. (See pp. 758–63 above.)

The Treasurer, Mr. Buck, presented a summary of his report, copies of which had been distributed to the members. The motion was made and passed to accept the report and to place it on file. (The report will be printed in full in the *Annual Report* for 1949.)

Mr. Arthur W. Page was unanimously re-elected to the Board of Trustees.

Next, a brief statement on deceased members was given by Mr. Ford reporting the deaths of thirty-six members since December, 1948.

Dr. Jeannette P. Nichols in the absence of the chairman, Marshall M. Knappen, gave the report of the Nominating Committee. As a result of the mail ballots cast, the committee announced the election of the following:

Members of the Council—Professor Thomas A. Bailey of Stanford University and Professor Leo Gershoy of New York University.

Members of the Nominating Committee—Miss Grace Gardner Griffin[1] of the Library of Congress and Miss Louise F. Brown of Vassar College.

For the Presidency of the Association for the year 1950, the committee nominated Professor Samuel E. Morison; for the Vice-Presidency, Professor Robert L. Schuyler; and for the office of Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck. On motion, the Executive Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for all nominees, and they were declared elected.

Mr. Ford reported on the following actions taken by the Council at its meeting (see minutes of the Council meeting, pp. 764–69 above):

The report of the Committee on Committees; the interpretation of the George Louis Beer bequest; the election of Sir Charles Webster and Dr. Alfons Dopsch to honorary membership; the changes in the terms of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Award; the bequest of Mr. David Matteson for the support of bibliographies and calendaring work, and the transfer of Matteson's gift of $2,000 to the Jameson Fund; the re-election as delegate of Dean Elmer Ellis to the Social Science Research Council; the election as representative of Professor Thomas C. Cochran to the National Records Management Council; the membership of the Executive Committee; the publication of the membership list as part of the *Annual Report* for 1949; the place of the 1950, 1951 and 1952 meetings; the announcement of the program chairman, Professor Fred H. Harrington, and the local arrangements chairman, Dr. Stanley Pargellis, for the 1950 meeting; the appointment of Dr. Carl Bridenbaugh as the new member of the Board of Editors; the election of Professors Donald C. McKay and Philip E. Mosely as representatives on the International Committee of Historical Sciences; the participation of American historians in the Historical Congress in Paris in 1950.

[1] Miss Griffin has declined and her alternate on the ballot, Professor E. M. Coulter of the University of Georgia, will serve.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch was presented by Mr. Ford for Professor Thomas A. Bailey.

The following resolutions were submitted by Professor Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association is interested in the historical activities of the Federal Government, both the writing of history and the preservation and administration of records; and be it further

Resolved, That the President of the American Historical Association be authorized to appoint a committee on historical activities of the Federal Government and to take other appropriate steps to attain greater cooperation between the Federal Government and private scholars.[2]

On motion made and carried, the above resolutions were unanimously approved.

Professor J. G. Randall submitted the following resolution for the Committee on Resolutions:

Resolved, That the Association express its appreciation to all those whose cooperation made possible the sixty-fourth annual meeting. In particular it records its gratitude to Walter Muir Whitehill, chairman, and Anne Palmer, secretary, of the Committee on Local Arrangements and to other members of that highly serviceable committee; to David Owen, chairman of the Program Committee, and to other members of that committee whose excellent work is evident in the elaborate and distinguished program of this meeting; to the many members of the Association at nearby institutions who have formally or informally assisted in welcoming the Association to Boston; to the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company for a series of historical post cards; to the Boston Chamber of Commerce for clerical aid in registration; to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, to the Boston Public Library, the Old South Association, and the Parker House for providing auxiliary meeting rooms; to the Paul Revere Memorial Association and the Old South Association for opening their respective premises to members; to the Hotel Statler for many courtesies and services.

This resolution was unanimously approved.

As there was no further business, Professor Frank M. Anderson moved that the meeting be adjourned. GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

American Historical Association

The Council of the Association has approved the publication of a list of the current membership this year. Members are urged to take note that no changes of address reported after May 15 can be incorporated in the list.

With this issue the responsibility for the lists of articles in United States history

[2] In response to an inquiry Professor Sydnor said that the resolution referred to the outgoing President.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is assumed by Wood Gray, professor of history in George Washington University. Professor Gray succeeds the late Richard J. Purcell.

In the execution of its task, the Nominating Committee would welcome suggestions from members of possible nominees for vice-president, for the two vacancies that will occur in the Council, and the three places to be filled on the Nominating Committee itself. The members of the Council are as follows: Thomas A. Bailey, A. E. R. Boak, Leo Gershoy, Paul Knaplund, J. G. Randall, Max H. Savelle, Arthur P. Whitaker, and Carl Wittke. The outgoing members are Professors J. G. Randall and Carl Wittke. The members of the Nominating Committee are as follows: Louise F. Brown, Louis R. Gottschalk, E. Merton Coulter, John A. Krout, and Robert R. Palmer. The outgoing members are Louis R. Gottschalk, John A. Krout, and Robert R. Palmer. Will members please send their suggestions to the chairman of the Nominating Committee, Professor Robert R. Palmer, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Other Historical Activities

The papers of Frank Knox, distinguished newspaper publisher and Secretary of the Navy during World War II, have been presented to the Library of Congress by Mrs. Knox. These papers consist mainly of personal correspondence dating from about 1917 to 1944, the year he died. They reflect Knox's activities in the Spanish-American War, when he served as a private in the "Rough Riders" regiment under Leonard Wood and Theodore Roosevelt, and his overseas service as an artillery officer during World War I. They contain little relating to the business aspects of Knox's newspaper activities. His service as Secretary of the Navy is especially well documented, and these papers supplement the official records for this period in the Navy Department files. Use of the Knox Papers is restricted at present.

The Library has also received the papers of George Foster Peabody, banker and philanthropist, as a gift from Mrs. Elizabeth Ames. Confined chiefly to the period from 1900 to 1937, they relate to Peabody's association with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York from 1914 to 1921, to other banking activities, and to his many special interests, such as Negro welfare, the development of education in the South, and the Georgia Warm Springs Health Foundation.

A significant series of more than 200 letters from Oliver Wendell Holmes to the Honorable Lewis Einstein, placed in the Library by Mr. Einstein, have recently become available for use in the Manuscripts Division by qualified readers. These friendly and discursive letters, which were written from 1903 to 1932 while Justice Holmes was a member of the United States Supreme Court, contain comments on the Court and the President, on books that Holmes was reading, and on national and world events. Another small group of letters, from officials of the Republic of Colombia to Richard Clough Anderson, jr., first minister from the United States

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to Colombia, has been presented to the Library by Anderson's granddaughter, Mrs. Edward L. Hicks, jr. The group includes fifteen letters of a semiofficial or personal nature written in the years 1823 to 1825 by Don Pedro Gual, Colombian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The extensive records of the Joint Committee on Materials for Research, which was formed by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, have been deposited permanently in the Library of Congress by the co-operating councils and are available in the Manuscripts Division. The files include the general correspondence of the committee from 1930 to 1939, the minutes and agenda of its first fifteen meetings, papers concerning its survey of materials for research in the social sciences and the humanities, a large body of records pertaining to archives projects in the United States, and papers concerning methods of reproduction, duplicating techniques, sound recordings, and copyright.

The Library of Congress has recently transferred its holdings of Jane Addams Papers to the Swarthmore College Peace Collection in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. Miss Ellen Starr Brinton, curator of the collection, will incorporate these papers into the Jane Addams material already at Swarthmore. The Library has returned to the Commonwealth of Virginia a manuscript account book kept by the office of the Virginia Treasurer, 1775 to 1777, and a group of land tax lists prepared in Ohio County for the state from 1789 to 1798; and it has returned to the Circuit Court of Fairfax County, Virginia, three volumes of official records, 1742 to 1773, which are believed to have been removed from the files of the court during the Civil War.

The National Archives Establishment, which on July 1, 1949, became a part of the newly created General Services Administration, was converted into the National Archives and Records Service of GSA on December 1. In addition to the office of the Archivist, NARS consists of the National Archives, the Division of the Federal Register, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, and a new Records Management Division. Theodore R. Schellenberg has been appointed director of archival management, with responsibility for the internal operations of the National Archives, and Herbert E. Angel, formerly director of office methods, Department of the Navy, has been made director of the new Records Management Division. Among recent transfers of government records to the National Archives are the original statutes, 1941–47, completing this series of records in the National Archives from 1789 to 1948. Other important bodies of records received include correspondence and other papers relating to the 20th and 21st Amendments to the Constitution; correspondence between the Wright brothers and the Weather Bureau relating to the selection of Kitty Hawk as the site for their experimental flights and telegraphic reports to the bureau on their first successful flights. The large-scale program to reproduce on microfilm American diplomatic and consular records pertaining to the Far East in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

period before 1906 was completed recently. In addition to such records previously filmed, microcopies have been made of dispatches from United States diplomatic representatives in Japan, 1900–1906 (9 rolls); dispatches from United States ministers to Korea, 1884–95 (10 rolls), and to Siam, 1882–1906 (9 rolls); dispatches from United States consuls in Nagasaki, 1870–1906, Kanagawa, 1861–80, and Yokohama, 1897–1906 (21 rolls); and notes from the Japanese legation in the United States to the Department of State, 1858–1906 (9 rolls). Other important groups of records reproduced include letters sent by the Secretary of War to the President of the United States, 1820–63 (5 rolls), and records relating to the suppression of the African slave trade and to Negro colonization, 1854–72 (10 rolls). In the last six months of 1949 more than 2,200 rolls of microcopies, containing reproductions of more than 1,000,000 pages, were sold. One state university placed a $3,000 order for microcopies of practically all the State Department records that have been filmed to date.

The State Library in Frankfort, Kentucky, has recently transferred to the Margaret I. King Library of the University of Kentucky files of thirty-six Kentucky newspapers concentrated chiefly on the period 1850–60. The run of the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* however, is from 1869 to 1928.

The Jefferson Papers of the University of Virginia (pp. 357, $5.00), a calendar compiled and indexed by Constance E. Thurlow and Francis L. Berkeley, jr., was published in January by the University of Virginia Library as the eighth volume in its "Bibliographical Series." An appended essay by Helen D. Bullock, "The Papers of Thomas Jefferson," discusses the history of Jefferson's personal papers and their widespread dispersion among libraries and individuals.

The 1949 winter issue of *Parliamentary Affairs,* the quarterly journal of the Hansard Society of London, is a special number devoted to the government of the United States with the presidency and Congress getting the chief emphasis. The list of contributors includes a very distinguished group of Englishmen and Americans. This issue gives for the price of a dollar a more realistic and authoritative discussion of American government and politics than many college texts in history or government. One can but wonder at the talents of an editor who was able to enlist such star performers. Perhaps the fact that they were doing an international service was the bait. The address of the Hansard Society is 39 Millbank, London, S.W.1.

The Paris office of UNESCO has recently released the first issue of a new quarterly publication, *International Social Science Bulletin.* With the contents printed in both French and English, "it is published in the hope that it may help to acquaint social scientists in various countries with work that has been con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ducted by national and international organizations, as well as individuals, concerned with an objective and scientific approach to the study of international relations in the widest sense."

UNESCO, the *News Chronicle* (a British Liberal daily newspaper), *Picture Post* (an illustrated London weekly), and a number of educational authorities in Britain are co-operating on a unique project teaching enterprise. The science editor of the London *News Chronicle,* Ritchie Calder, is undertaking a survey of research and reclamation work now under way in the desert areas of the Near and Middle East, and of plans for future restoration, irrigation, and afforestation. His discoveries and conclusions will be communicated not only to UNESCO but also to teachers, schools, and adult education authorities. Wall maps and other visual aids are being prepared so that the significant modern story of "Men against the Desert" will be set before pupils and readers in schools and homes. Mr. Calder's journey, will cover Algiers, Tunisia, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Cyprus, and Israel.

The offices of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* have been transferred permanently to: München 2, Arcisstr. 10. (See note in *Am. Hist. Rev.,* January, 1950, p. 464.) Works published by the *Monumenta* since the postwar reorganization are: *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit.* Band I: *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather von Verona,* edited by F. Weigle. Band III: *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung,* edited by W. Bulst. Band V: *Die Briefsammlung der Zeit Heinrichs IV,* edited by C. Erdmann and N. Fickermann. *Laienfürsten- und Dynastenurkunden der Kaiserzeit: Die Urkunden Heinrichs des Löwen,* 2. Teil, edited by Karl Jordan. *Deutsche Mittelalter.* Heft IV: *Die Schriften des Alexander von Roes,* edited by H. Grundmann and W. Heimpel. All these works were published by Böhlaus in Weimar.

John Tracy Ellis, professor of American church history in the Catholic University of America, is writing the life of James Cardinal Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore. Father Ellis would appreciate information concerning letters of the cardinal in private collections.

The sixth international congress for the history of science will be held in Amsterdam August 14–20, 1950, under the auspices of the Academy and the International Union for the History of Science. Apart from general and committee meetings, the congress members will meet in four sections: history of mathematics, physics, and astronomy; history of chemistry, pharmacy, and biology; history of applied science and technology; history of medicine. No papers for the congress will be accepted after May 1, 1950. Inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary of the Congress, Prof. Ir R. J. Forbes, Haringvlietstraat 1, Amsterdam-Z., the Netherlands.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The third session of the Mount Holyoke Institute on the United Nations will be held in South Hadley, Massachusetts, June 25–July 22, 1950. The theme will be "Towards a World Community." For further information address Marjorie Fisher, Executive Secretary, Mount Holyoke Institute on the United Nations, South Hadley, Massachusetts.

The University of Denver will conduct its second annual Institute for the Study of the Soviet Union during the period from June 19 to July 21, 1950. The main feature of the institute is a five quarter credit course for advanced undergraduate and graduate students, surveying the politics, economics, sociology, history, and international relations of the U.S.S.R. Forty of the fifty hours of lectures will be given by four members of Harvard University's Program of Regional Studies: Merle Fainsod, Michael Karpovich, Alexander Gerschenkron, and Alex Inkeles. C. Dale Fuller of the department of international relations of the University of Denver will again be the co-ordinator for the institute.

The Academy of American Franciscan History held its annual convocation for 1949 on December 11 and 12, 1949, in Washington, D. C. The theme of this year's session was the bicentenary of the arrival in America of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M., founder of the California Missions. At the conclusion of the academic session, the Americas Award for 1949 was presented to Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton, professor emeritus of history in the University of California.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its regular fall meeting at the University of North Carolina on November 4, 1949. The general topic was the history of higher education in North Carolina, with papers by A. L. Brooks on "David Caldwell and His Log College" and Douglas L. Rights on "The Early History of Salem College." R. D. W. Connor's presidential address dealt with "The Genesis of Higher Education in North Carolina." Officers elected for the coming year are Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University, president; R. H. Taylor of Western Carolina Teachers College, vice-president; Cecil Johnson of the University of North Carolina, secretary-treasurer; and F. M. Green of the University of North Carolina, member of the council.

A conference of field historians engaged in the history of United States Air Force was held in Dayton, Ohio, November 15–17, 1949. The processed report contains a number of excellent papers bearing on the collection of data and the writing of military history as well as the particular problems of the Air Materiel Command. Mr. Paul M. Davis is chief historical officer for the latter sector with headquarters at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton.

The Air Historical Group (Department of Air Force) moved from Washing-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ton, D.C., to Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, in September, 1949. The name of the office has been changed to "Historical Division" and it is now a part of the Department of Air Force Library. Colonel Wilfred J. Paul, former chief of the office, was made director of the Department of Air Force Library with Lt. Col. Garth C. Cobb acting as his deputy in addition to being chief of the Historical Division. Historians who moved with the office include Albert F. Simpson, Chauncey Sanders, Edith C. Rodgers, C. Juliette Abington, Robert F. Futrell (now on leave at Vanderbilt University to complete work on his doctorate), Robert T. Finney, Martin Goldman, Ernest L. Jones, and Captain B. L. Mortensen. The personnel has been augmented by nine historians, formerly comprising the documentary research section of the Air University. They are headed by Charles M. Thomas, now chief of the studies and research branch of the Historical Division. The group includes Hilton P. Goss, Earl R. McClendon, Woodford A. Heflin, Raymond Estep, Eugene M. Emme, Oron P. South, Robert W. Schmidt, Littleton B. Atkinson, Carmen White, Eolian R. Lawrence, and Mary C. McRee. A liaison office is being maintained in the Pentagon in Washington, with Lt. Col. Arthur J. Larsen in charge. Historians remaining with the liaison office are H. L. Bowen and Alfred Goldberg.

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has granted $260,000, payable over a two-year period, to the Social Science Research Council for area training fellowships and travel grants. The program provides fellowships for individuals who have not yet received the doctoral degree and travel grants to specialists for research on problems which are clearly related to an understanding of the contemporary culture of the major foreign areas of the world.

The Royal Historical Society announces a competition, to be held in 1952, for the David Berry Prize, awarded for the best essay dealing with Scottish history within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive. Subjects must first be submitted to and approved by the council of the society, and essays must be delivered not later than October 31, 1952. The prize for 1949 has been awarded to T. Bedford Franklin for his essay "Monastic Agriculture in Scotland, 1440–1600." Further information about the competition may be obtained from the Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W.10.

In connection with the joint American Historical Association–Library of Congress endeavor to qualify microcopying activities within the scope of the Fulbright Educational Program, the Committee on Documentary Reproduction of the American Historical Association reports that advanced research scholarships have been awarded to Professor Abraham P. Nasatir, San Diego State Teachers College, and to Dr. Howard C. Rice, jr., Princeton University, for research in France during the year 1949–50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Waldo G. Leland, director emeritus of the American Council of Learned Societies, was honored by the award of an honorary membership in the Society of American Archivists following his address at the joint luncheon session of the society with the American Historical Association at Boston, December 29, 1949. He was presented with a certificate citing his "eminent service to the field of archival economy" and his "interest in the preservation of sources for research into the history of the American people." Philip C. Brooks, president of the society, in presenting the certificate, pointed out that while Dr. Leland's address (published in the April issue of the *American Archivist*) mentioned only his archival activities up to the First World War, he was active in the movement for the establishment of the National Archives, and had recently assisted the organizers of the International Council on Archives.

Lewis Atherton, chairman of the department of history in the University of Missouri, and Vincent Starrett, Chicago bookman and journalist, have recently been awarded Newberry Fellowships in Midwestern Studies, granted at irregular intervals by the Newberry Library, Chicago, from Rockefeller Foundation funds. Professor Atherton will write of the effects upon the small town of modern mechanization and the growth of the city. Mr. Starrett will write his autobiography, which will also be a history of literature in and about Chicago.

Arthur E. R. Boak, professor of ancient history in the University of Michigan, was named the twenty-fifth Henry Russel lecturer at a meeting of the Research Club. The lectureship honor goes each year to the faculty member adjudged to have achieved the highest distinction in his chosen field of scholarship.

Eugene C. Barker of the University of Texas will be honored on April 23 when the remodeled former library building is dedicated as the Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center. The building will house the university's extensive collection of material on the history of Texas and furnish attractive working space for scholars using it.

The friends of John LaMonte feel that the most appropriate tribute to his memory would be a loan fund for the use of graduate students in the University of Pennsylvania. Several contributions to this fund have already been received and more contributions have been promised. Checks should be made out to the John LaMonte Loan Fund and sent to Mr. Rowan A. Williams, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Personal

Appointments and Staff Changes

In Baylor University Francis Gevrier Guittard, chairman of the department of history since 1909, will retire but will teach one class each quarter. Jefferson Davis Bragg has been promoted to the chairmanship of the department. Assistant Professor Lynn has been granted a leave of absence for two years. Joe Carl McElhannon has been appointed instructor.

Eric C. Kollman of Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, will teach nineteenth century European history in the forthcoming summer session of the University of British Columbia.

Sinclair W. Armstrong has been promoted to professor of history in Brown University.

John D. Hicks of the University of California, Berkeley, will be visiting professor of American history and institutions at the University of Cambridge, England, for the academic year 1950–51. The University of California also announces that Woodbridge Bingham is on leave of absence during the current year, working in the East Asiatic Library at Columbia University; his place is being taken by F. Hilary Conroy, lecturer in Far Eastern history. Armin Rappaport of Stanford University has been appointed lecturer in history for the year 1949–50, and Charles Jelavich has been appointed instructor in history.

Arthur P. Scott, professor of history in the University of Chicago for thirty-six years, has retired and has been given emeritus status.

Harry J. Carman will retire as dean of Columbia College, Columbia University, on July 1, having reached the retirement age. He will return to his full-time duties as Moore collegiate professor of history in the college.

The Historical Division, Department of the Army, announces that Rudolph Winnacker has resigned from the Historical Division to be historian to the Department of Defense; Louis Morton has been promoted from chief of the Pacific Unit, Historical Division, SSUSA, to deputy chief historian, and John Grossman is to be historian in the Logistics Unit.

Robert Park, professor of history in Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, has been named dean of the College of Liberal Arts.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College has been promoted from associate professor of history to professor of history.

George W. F. Hallgarten, Washington, D. C., is lecturing in the department of history of the University of Munich as visiting professor during the winter term 1949–50.

In the University of New Mexico Dorothy Woodward, associate professor of history, is on a year's sabbatical leave, beginning February, 1950, for study and research in Brazil; I. J. Cox, professor emeritus of Northwestern University, is a visiting professor during the second semester of 1949–50 and D. B. McKibbin is a visiting assistant professor. Madaline W. Nichols of Florida State University will be visiting professor of history during the summer session of 1950.

Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University has been appointed by the trustees of the university to be William Smith Mason professor of American history. The department of history at Northwestern will have on its staff for the summer session of 1950 the following visiting staff: Brooke Hindle, research associate, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia; Leonard Krieger, instructor in history, Yale University; and Charles F. Mullett, professor of history, University of Missouri. Clarence L. Ver Steeg, of Columbia University, has accepted appointment as instructor in history at Northwestern and will begin his duties in September.

John W. Keller, formerly associate professor of history in the Mississippi State College for Women at Columbus, has been appointed associate professor of history in the Oklahoma City University.

Thomas E. Lynch has been promoted to assistant professor in medieval history in Saint Joseph's College, Philadelphia.

At Stanford University during the current academic year, John C. Miller of Bryn Mawr is in residence as visiting professor of American colonial history. During the year Kazuo Kawai, formerly of the University of California at Los Angeles, is serving as lecturer in Far Eastern history and George H. Kerr, formerly of the University of Washington, as lecturer in Far Eastern history during the autumn and winter quarters. Joining the staff of instructors in the course in Western civilization were the following: Walter H. Simon of Yale University, Elizabeth Nickerson of the University of Pennsylvania, William Armstrong, formerly at Louisiana State University, and George A. Frykman, Edward Howard Brooks, and David Edwards Allen, jr., of Stanford University. William T. Hutchinson of the University of Chicago will be a member of the summer quarter staff at Stanford University, offering courses in nineteenth century American history.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Richard W. Van Alstyne of the University of Southern California has been granted a special leave of absence for the spring semester to serve as visiting professor of American diplomacy at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and Tufts College. During the coming summer he will serve at the University of Michigan.

Earle W. Newton has resigned as director of the Vermont Historical Society to accept the directorship of Sturbridge Village in Sturbridge, Massachusetts, a New England "Williamsburg."

Roland G. Usher will retire as professor and head of the department of history in Washington University in June, 1950.

Whitney R. Cross of Smith College has been appointed assistant professor of history at West Virginia University.

A. Edythe Mange has joined the staff of the department of history in Western Michigan College of Education at Kalamazoo.

Among those who will participate in the University of Wyoming's sixth annual Institute of International Affairs, July 24–August 25, 1950, are Ruhl J. Bartlett of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, William Henry Chamberlin, newspaper correspondent, Nathaniel Peffer of Columbia University, Charles Micaud of the University of Virginia, Leo Pasvolsky of the Brookings Institution, and George Langrod of the University of Toulouse.

Mark Wischnitzer has been reappointed to the faculty of the School of Education and Community Administration, Yeshiva University, New York, for the year 1949–50 with the rank of professor of Jewish history.

Recent Deaths

The historians in Washington, the staff of the *Review,* which he had recently joined, as well as the many friends who saw him in full vigor at the Boston meeting, were shocked by the news of the sudden death on January 3 of Dr. Richard J. Purcell, professor of American history at the Catholic University of America. Dr. Purcell was born in Minneapolis, December 10, 1887, and graduated from the University of Minnesota with honors in 1910. He took his master's degree there the following year. Equal distinction was won during his graduate work at Yale, where he received the John Addison Porter prize and the doctorate in 1916. His monograph on *Connecticut in Transition* was awarded the Justin Winsor prize of the American Historical Association. He held a Guggenheim fellowship in 1927–28 to study Irish immigration. After several years on the staff of St. Thomas

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

College in St. Paul, Minnesota, he was called to the Catholic University of America, where he was an outstanding teacher of both undergraduates and graduates for the past twenty-nine years. During that time he earned his LL.B. at Georgetown University Law School and was admitted to the bar in Washington. He contributed 175 articles to the *Dictionary of American Biography* and numerous articles to the *Catholic Encyclopedia.* The great task on which he had been working for many years, a history of church and state in America, remains unfinished. In this work both Mrs. Purcell and his son Richard had been his active collaborators. Dr. Purcell was kindly, modest, generous of his time to students and colleagues. When asked to take over the task of preparing the section of the *Review* devoted to the bibliography of articles in American history, his characteristic reply was, "Anything you want me to do, I will willingly do." His service was brief but, like everything he did, was conscientiously done.

Tyler Dennett, former president of Williams College and adviser to the State Department, died December 29 of a heart attack at his home in Geneva, New York. He was born in Spencer, Wisconsin, June 13, 1883, graduated from Williams College in 1904 and received his doctor's degree from Johns Hopkins. Later many institutions conferred honorary degrees on him. His teaching career included service on the faculties of Johns Hopkins, Columbia, and Princeton, where he left a professorship of international relations to serve his alma mater as president from 1934 to 1937. His published work includes several volumes on Asia and American policy there. His biography of John Hay received the Pulitzer prize in 1933. It was followed by the editing of Hay's diaries of the Civil War. He was a valued reviewer for this journal.

Isaiah Bowman, president emeritus of Johns Hopkins University, died in Baltimore on January 6. Distinguished primarily as a geographer, he had been an adviser to the State Department from time to time since his service under President Wilson during the peace negotiations at the close of World War I. He was a member of this Association and a keen and critical reader of the *Review.*

Jeffrey R. Brackett, a life member of the American Historical Association since 1886 when he was a student at the Johns Hopkins University, died December 4, 1949, at the age of eighty-nine. He had spent most of his life as an organizer and director of social and philanthropic work chiefly in Massachusetts, where he was successively head of the State Board of Charities and of the State Board of Public Welfare.

The distinguished lawyer and civic reformer, Lessing Rosenthal, died in Chicago, December 20. He had been for some time a life member of the American Historical Association.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lee F. Crippen, chairman of the department of history and political science at Berea College, died on December 28 at the age of fifty-three. His death followed a long illness after a serious operation.

Wilfred Brenton Kerr, associate professor of history in the University of Buffalo, died on January 12, 1950. He was a graduate of Oxford, taking his B.A. in 1921 and his M.A. in 1926. He also had two degrees from the University of Toronto, receiving the M.A. in 1923 and the Ph.D. in 1925, when he came to Buffalo. His doctoral thesis on the Reign of Terror was published by the University of Toronto Press. Mr. Kerr's war service with the Canadian artillery resulted in an autobiographical account of his combat duty. He was a frequent contributor to Canadian magazines of studies on West Indian and Canadian history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His last published works are the sections on England and Russia in the co-operative University of Buffalo book *Foreign Governments and Their Backgrounds,* published in the spring of 1950 by Harpers. Mr. Kerr was a rare combination of the stimulating teacher and the research scholar. His classes were popular, for, though he expected much of his students and worked them hard, they enjoyed his pungent and witty presentations of dry facts and had a deep respect for his wide learning.

Thornton Powell Terhune, professor of European history in Tulane University, died on January 11, 1950, at the age of forty-six. Dr. Terhune had served as instructor in European history in the Ohio State University, 1925–27; as assistant professor of history in the University of Maine, 1927–28; as associate professor of history in Centre College of Kentucky, 1928–38; and as professor of European history in Tulane University since 1938.

Adelaide Fries, archivist of the Moravian Church and author of *The Road to Salem,* died on November 29, 1949, at the age of seventy-eight. Dr. Fries was also co-author and editor of *Forsyth: A County on the March.*

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In the October issue of last year you printed a brief communication by Mr. C. B. Welles of Yale University relative to my article "The Ancient Near East as History" (*American Historical Review,* LIV, April, 1949). I cannot allow the impression created by Mr. Welles' comments to stand unanswered, inasmuch as, in total, they add up to a serious charge against my competence in the field of history, both in detail and in the large. I may itemize some of these charges and statements along with my answers.

Mr. Welles' second paragraph mentions the "pitfalls" in such a rapidly changing historical field as that of the Ancient Near East, with the slight innuendo that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I am unaware of the fact. My footnote 3 mentions "the rapidity with which Ancient Near Eastern studies and archaeology are moving," as a basic reason for the caution and tentativeness with which I feel constrained to approach the subject. My list (pp. 532–33) of Ancient Near Eastern civilizations is "futile," "useless and misleading" because it "ignores chronology" and "confuses civilizations with 'people.'" I am never satisfied with any such arbitrary scheme as I have developed in my list. It may be all that Mr. Welles says it is, though the necessities of brevity may vaguely excuse me from having obtruded it at all. Were it—or the like—not present, I could be just as harshly accused of dealing in glittering generalities to the neglect of fact. I introduced my scheme with the statement, "The list is intended to be suggestive only," and nailed it down with a footnote repeating the same. My list does indeed ignore chronology. The reader is explicitly informed that "it disregards sequential considerations." The confusion of civilizations and people remains to be proved. The headings are "civilizations" and "cultures," *not* people (*i.e.,* the listings are thus cultural, not ethnic). Some of the individual items, such as Israelite, Sumero-Semitic, Sasanid, Hittite, etc., involve plural racial elements; others, such as Himyarite, Edomite, etc., involve only one racial element apiece as far as can be ascertained. None of this has any reference to confusion of terms.

Mr. Welles states, "The Sumero-Semitic civilization is identifiable as such before 3000, and Egyptian at about the same time." On page 538 and again in my summary definition of the Ancient Near East on page 547 I assert my inability to date the origins of the Ancient Near East, but that, when identified, it will certainly precede the beginnings of writing in the protoliterate period (approx. 3600 B.C.). Mr. Welles is saying no more than what I have said. Mr. Welles wonders why I omit the Greeks from the list. Mr. Welles must have a peculiarly fluid concept of pre-Christian history. On page 531 I specifically separate the civilization of the Ancient Near East, not only from the *Hellenic* (an orthodox division going back to the Greeks themselves), but also from the Indic, Far Eastern, etc. Does Mr. Welles believe that Greek civilization is simply an appanage of the civilization of the Hither Orient?

Mr. Welles says, "There is no evidence advanced, and no evidence exists, to show that these groups are all distinct from the point of view of culture or civilization, or that they make up the 'major' cultural groups of the area." I did not believe it necessary to *prove* that Hittite culture is distinct from Medo-Persian, or that Minoan culture can be distinguished from Sabaean. If it is necessary to prove this, then 100 years of archaeology must be undone.

Mr. Welles implies that I believe that the items in my list represent all the major cultural groups in the area. My article nowhere states or implies that. On the contrary I introduce the list (p. 532) with the caution, "With the exception of the first category, which is basic and complete, the list is intended to be suggestive only." Mr. Welles says, "The Amorrites supplied a dynasty to Babylon, and were much more Sumerianized than the Assyrians, who are instead listed in the Sumero-Semitic group." This sentence of Mr. Welles seems to imply, on any proper construction, that, while I have included the Assyrians under my heading of Sumero-Semitic, I have omitted the Amorites, who were a more thoroughly Sumerianized group than the Assyrians. I refer Mr. Welles to my footnote 4 which briefly defines my understanding of the cultural elements embraced by the Sumero-Semitic as "The original Sumerian transmuted by and including Akkadian, *Amorite,* Assyrian, and Chaldaean elements."

Mr. Welles asks, "Were the Israelites not Semitic?" implying that, because they spoke a Semitic tongue, they perforce should have been included under my heading

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sumero-Semitic. I refer Mr. Welles to my footnote 8 where he will find a full explanation of my reasons for separating the Israelite from other groups. If he disagrees with my reasoning in that footnote, that is certainly justified, but if he is trying to convey the idea that I am unaware that the Aramaean and Hebrew tongues spoken by the historical Israelites are Semitic, I must emphatically object to his inference.

Mr. Welles says, "A curious feature of the list is the omission of such seemingly strong cultural influences as the Hyksos (to whom Winlock would now ascribe a vast influence on Egyptian civilization, whoever they may actually have been) . . ." Mr. Welles apparently thinks that Winlock's latest publication (*The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes,* 1947) has just now given us this important insight into the role played by the Hyksos in Egypt. Mr. Welles may be interested to know that this fact has been known and unquestioningly accepted since at least the time of Heinrich Brugsch-Bey in the last century. And when he adds "whoever they may have been," it is obvious that his knowledge is antiquated and inadequate, for it is now accepted, on the evidence of proper names and otherwise, that the Hyksos were very largely Canaanite and/or Amorite (*vid.* W. F. Albright, "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," in *Studies in the History of Culture,* 1942).

Mr. Welles intrigues me when he mentions that the Philistines are "Nordics"! I do not necessarily deny this, for I have no idea from what racial stock they were sprung, but the ease with which Mr. Welles has made this great discovery (as yet unknown to archaeologists dealing in skeletal material) reminds one of those who from time to time uncover the lost continent of Mu.

Having thus considered my list, Mr. Welles makes some general observations. First he presumes to date the beginnings of the Ancient Near East around 4000/5000, "because," he says, "*useful* [italics mine] cultures existed that early which should not be overlooked, notably Halafian in Northern Mesopotamia." Mr. Welles apparently considers that cultural usefulness is the criterion by which we are to identify the beginnings of the Ancient Near East. I am at a loss to understand what he means by "useful," culturally speaking. Perhaps if I knew I would agree with him. His reference to Halafian is meaningless when a food-producing culture in the same general area (Natufian, in Palestine and Egypt) existed approximately 8000 B.C. How does he know that we must begin around 4000/5000 B.C. and not 8000 B.C.?

Mr. Welles says, "There was a more-or-less unified cultural area existing as far back as the unification of Egypt . . . ," by which he denies the "fragmentation" of the Near East which is my "invention." Mr. Welles apparently missed the first page of my article where I state, "There is an obvious advantage in treating the Ancient Near East as a unit rather than as a disparate bundle of civilized and semi-civilized states and nations."

Lastly Mr. Welles says, "To emphasize the differences, especially without defining them, and to ignore the great historical process which was to form our Western civilization and to continue forming as long as history shall last, is to miss the supremely interesting spectacle of all human experience." This is a serious charge and not to be taken lightly. Mr. Welles accuses me of emphasizing cultural "differences," when the whole direction of my article—the thesis of it, in fact—is an attempt to bring out that very point, namely, that the Ancient Near East *is* a unit, and can only be understood *as* a unit, a fact which has not been sufficiently demonstrated to date. When lastly he states that I have ignored the "great historical process," he is either chiding me for not writing a world history

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in seventeen pages, or he hopelessly fails to see that my intent, *by reference to other civilization-clusters neighboring the Ancient Near East in time and space,* is to clinch another link in just that "historical process."

No words on such a vexed subject can long stand unquestioned. Constructive criticism may soon demolish or otherwise modify parts or all of my thesis. In any case it is not too much to expect of one who offers himself as a critic of a new approach that he at least read carefully what he criticizes.

Cedar Crest College B. C. BRUNDAGE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his review of my book *Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism: Social Forces in England and France (1815–1870)* (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* January, 1950, p. 337), Professor Thomas I. Cook sharply dissents from my interpretation of Proudhon as a proto-fascist. I am not surprised, as for the first time, to my knowledge, the "father" of anarchy is now presented as a "herald" of fascism. In going through the writings of Proudhon I was myself surprised, not to say astonished, to find that the great social philosopher harbored ideas, now considered distinctively fascist.

I desire to take exception, however, to Professor Cook's charge that, in my chapters on the "heralds" of fascism, Louis Napoleon, Proudhon, and Carlyle, I do "not fully assess the relationship of these persons to their own times and their problems." Really there is no basis for this charge, as my book gives ample evidence that I do this very thing. My fundamental explanation for the ideas of those whom I call the "heralds" of fascism is that these ideas were generated by the fear felt by the lower middle class, of being either ruined by large capital, or of being expropriated by the revolutionary proletariat. Terror, inspired by the uprising in France during the "June Days" of 1848 and by the menace of Chartism in England, thus found intellectual expression. The relationship of Louis Napoleon to the social situation of his time is described on pages 308–309, 313–17, 320–21, 323, 329–30; of Proudhon, on pages 337–39, 347–48, 353, 365–67; and of Carlyle, on pages 372–74, 391–93. As I do not believe that influential social ideas arise in a vacuum, I have endeavored throughout my book to relate social ideas with social conditions in England and France, during the period 1815–1870.

Any historical writer who believes that the past is related to the present is likely to have the charge of "historicism" hurled at his head. I am not one of those who think that fascism sprang fully grown from the chin of Mussolini. Wherever in Europe the fascist movement made its appearance, its historic origins can be traced. In studying England and France during the nineteenth century I became aware of a fascist pattern of ideas, imperfect to be sure yet fairly distinct, in the writings of Proudhon and Carlyle and in the policies of Louis Napoleon. As every generation rewrites history, the present generation, which has witnessed world wars and world revolutions, certainly has the right to re-evaluate the past, especially the nineteenth century past. "Those of us who drew our first lessons in historical methodology from Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History,*" declared Professor Conyers Read in his pithy presidential address, "will recall that the fundamental principle of history is there defined to be 'the analogy between present and past humanity.'" I fully subscribe to this sentiment.

New York City J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Founded in 1884 Chartered by Congress in 1889

Principal Office

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ANNEX, STUDY ROOM 274, Washington 25, D. C.

MEMBERSHIP, DECEMBER, 1949: 5511. Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership.

MEETINGS: An annual meeting with a three-day program is held in the last days of each year. Election of officers is by ballot of the membership.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast.

PUBLICATIONS: In addition to the *Annual Report,* the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review,* published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education,* a journal on the social studies for secondary-school teachers.

PRIZES: The *Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize,* awarded annually for the best manuscript in the history of the Western Hemisphere, has a cash value of $500 and assurance of publication. Address inquiries to Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

The *Watumull Prize* of $500, awarded biennially for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States (last award: December, 1949).

The *George Louis Beer Prize* of about $200, awarded annually for a work upon any phase of European international history since 1895.

The *John H. Dunning Prize* of about $100, awarded in the even-numbered years for a monograph on any subject relating to American history.

The *Herbert B. Adams Prize,* without stipend, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history.

DUES: There is no initiation fee. Annual dues are $5.00. Life membership is $100. All members receive the *American Historical Review* and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at the Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Recent texts



JOHN D. HICKS

The Federal Union
The American Nation
A Short History of American Democracy

WALLACE K. FERGUSON and GEOFFREY BRUUN

A Survey of European Civilization

One and two volume editions, with student's workbooks and instructor's manual.

LYNN THORNDIKE

The History of Medieval Europe

OSGOOD HARDY and GLENN S. DUMKE

A History of the Pacific Area
in Modern Times

BROADUS MITCHELL and LOUISE P. MITCHELL

American Economic History

C. E. VAN SICKLE

A Political and Cultural History of the
Ancient World: Vols. I & II

WILLIAM L. LANGER

Encyclopedia of World History

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

Boston New York Chicago Dallas San Francisco

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ready: April

THE MAKING OF AMERICAN HISTORY

DONALD SHEEHAN, *Columbia University*

RAY A. BILLINGTON -:- GENERAL EDITOR

Here, for the first time, is a history of the United States told by twenty-seven of its most distinguished historians—a work composed exclusively of those writings generally considered to be "classics."

The two volumes are so arranged as to furnish one assignment of outside reading per week. Each assignment is a substantial selection—almost *an entire chapter in itself.* And the editor's introductions assist the student to read with insight and understanding.

The Making of American History covers many aspects of American culture—economic, social, political, intellectual. There is great variety in point of view. And the writings themselves are *highly readable.*

This collection of the best and most readable secondary accounts of American history comes in two handsome volumes, each $2.40.

"No work of its compass gives so much expert interpretation of our national past," writes Allan Nevins of this new text.

Write for your examination copies now.

DRYDEN PRESS 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Princeton University Press

TROY: VOLUME I

By C. W. BLEGEN et al. The excavations conducted at Troy by the University of Cincinnati, 1932-1938. This new examination of the site makes it possible to document knowledge of Near Eastern civilization for nearly 3,000 years. Volume I, on the first two Settlements, includes the discovery of a great wall from the early Bronze Age, and the earliest example of monumental sculpture in northwestern Asia Minor. *Published for the University of Cincinnati.*

500 pages of text, 256 pages of illustrations. *$36.00*

EXCAVATIONS at GÖZLÜ KULE, TARSUS

Edited by HETTY GOLDMAN. The Hellenistic and Roman deposits excavated at the mound of Gözlü Kule, near modern Tarsus, between 1935 and 1937. The findings date from the time of Alexander the Great through the 4th century A.D. There are contributions on special subjects by *Dorothy Hannah Cox, Hetty Goldman, Virginia Grace, Frances Follin Jones,* and *Antony E. Raubitschek.*

2 volumes, 670 pages, including 150 collotype plates. *$36.00*

ROMAN RULE in ASIA MINOR

By DAVID MAGIE. A thorough picture of political and economic conditions during the third and early second centuries B.C., by an authority in the field of ancient history and archaeology. Many controversial questions are critically examined.

2 volumes, 1550 pages. *May, $20.00*

At your bookstore, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now—the fourth edition

The GROWTH of the AMERICAN REPUBLIC

By Samuel Eliot Morison
and Henry Steele Commager

Revised throughout, with five new chapters on the war and the peace, this most distinguished of short histories benefits by the latest scholarship and by its authors' war experience. The third edition has been adopted in 550 colleges, schools and universities.

Volume I ready now—Volume II to follow shortly

College edition, each $5.00

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

FREE GOVERNMENT in the MAKING:

Readings in American Political Thought

Edited by Alpheus Thomas Mason

A first-hand introduction to the controversies that have gone into the development of our political tradition, by the author of *Brandeis: A Free Man's Life.*

'Here is a book of "readings" that considerably transcends in importance and interest the conventional collection of this type. . . . The approximately 150 individual pieces, ranging in date from the seventeenth century to the present, are grouped in some twenty-one sections, at the head of each of which is an Introductory Note. This score of brief essays, together with the excellence of the selections, give to a solid volume a genuine distinction.'—*Virginia Quarterly Review*

846 pages $6.00

114 Fifth Avenue **New York 11, N. Y.**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Announcing Two Important New Studies in European History

A HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD

By **R. R. Palmer,** *Princeton University*

This distinguished history was conceived and written in its entirety since the end of the last war. It points up what now seems most enlightening throughout the course of modern history for American students who must spend their lives in the second half of the twentieth century. Alert scholarship and a swift, lucid style illuminate the political, economic, and institutional changes which have transformed Europe from medieval to modern times.

A HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD, as the title suggests, is more than a history of Europe alone. Emphasis falls on international movements and international situations, and on what Europeans and their descendants have done and faced in common. Each national history, therefore, is treated most fully as part of a larger European civilization. General regional differences within Europe are brought out, and the history of the Americas is woven into the story at relevant points, as are colonial and imperial developments of the last century in Asia and Africa.

Balanced, scholarly, and well written, A HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD is a remarkably penetrating review of Western civilization from the Renaissance to our own times.

Ready spring. 800 pages, 41 maps, 15 illus.; $5.00 text

TWENTIETH CENTURY EUROPE A HISTORY

By **C. E. Black,** *Princeton University*
and **E. C. Helmreich,** *Bowdoin College*

Midway in the twentieth century two historians discuss the mighty events which have torn apart the continent that once formed the heart of Western civilization. They describe the recent history of every European nation and link it with the momentous problems of international politics which dominate the history of our times.

Here is a history of the twentieth century which gives full consideration to the great history-making peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. The authors have given no less attention to Great Britain and the nations of Western Europe, and to the many countries of the Near East, which occupy such an important position on the periphery of the European continent. They have been especially concerned with the participation of the United States in world affairs, and have emphasized as well the decisive influence of other independent non-European states on events of the twentieth century.

The student will find here an objective and thorough examination of the forces which have made the twentieth century what it is. This volume will help him to understand those forces, and to interpret the age in which he must live.

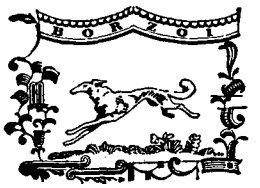
Ready spring. 980 pages, 34 maps and charts, 32 illus.; $5.50 text

Write now for examination copies

College Department
ALFRED A. KNOPF

501 Madison Avenue
NEW YORK 22

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The only book of its kind by the foremost authority in the field

G. B. SANSOM

Director, the East Asian Institute, Columbia University
Author of *Japan, A Short Cultural History*

THE WESTERN WORLD AND JAPAN

This masterwork is not only an account of the cultural influence of the West upon Japan, it is also a study of the way in which cultures interact and a revelation of the process by which the intrusive civilizations of the West have affected the Asiatic peoples in general and the Japanese in particular.

Scholars will be stirred by its challenge to the West's self-centered misreading of this record as well as to Japan's myth-ridden historiography. They will find an astounding refutation of Toynbee and Spengler in the evidence demonstrating the capacity of a society to renew itself without changing its essence.

This is, and will continue to be, the definitive book on East-West relations: economic, political, religious, military, literary, educational, technological and social.

With 16 pages of half-tones, 19 line illustrations, and 2 maps – 531 pages
$6.00 wherever books are sold

ALFRED·A·KNOPF, *Publisher*
501 Madison Avenue, N. Y. 22

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The influence on American ideas and principles of the half-century friendship of

JEFFERSON AND MADISON

by ADRIENNE KOCH

Going behind their formal statements of belief, Miss Koch shows how these two great philosopher-statesmen together reached their conclusions on federal authority, the two-party system, the public debt, the Supreme Court, and other important issues. Here is a contribution to a fuller understanding of the two political realists who envisaged the American republic as an experiment for liberty.

$4.00 wherever books are sold

ALFRED · A · KNOPF, *Publisher*

Send your name and address . . .

on a piece of paper, together with one dollar, to Dover Publications, Dept. AHR2, 1780 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. We'll send you in return a brand new copy of David Donald's LINCOLN'S HERNDON. This superb biography of Lincoln's law partner and biographer was originally published at $5.00. Covers Lincoln's Springfield and Sangamon County days, circuit-riding, early political activity in Illinois, etc. Over 400 pages. Full index. 3½-page bibliography of Herndon's published writings on Lincoln. Introduction by Carl Sandburg. Money back if not delighted with your copy. "Whether considered as biography or as historiography . . . it is a masterly achievement of sound scholarship, enlightened exposition and absorbing interest."—D. C. Mearns in the New York Herald Tribune. "It will be hard for anyone to find flaws in Mr. Donald's biography of a biographer."—Keith Kent in the San Francisco Chronicle. "The author has done a superb job. His volume is scholarly without ever being dull, critical but not pedantic, as brilliant in analysis as it is colorful in narrative."—R. A. Brown in the Christian Science Monitor. Quantities limited. Mail today.

Brazilian Culture

By Fernando de Azevedo

"An indispensable source book of information about the cultural life of Brazil."—Hugh Walpole, *Chicago Tribune.* This complete, monumental work is profusely illustrated with over 400 pictures. $12.50

At all bookstores

MACMILLAN

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTROVERSIAL NOW—

as they were when first hotly debated—are the issues in our history which provide the basis for these spirited readings, drawn from a wide variety of authoritative sources

PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

A SERIES OF READINGS COMPILED BY THE AMERICAN STUDIES STAFF OF AMHERST COLLEGE

ALREADY PUBLISHED:

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE CONSTITUTION
THE TURNER THESIS CONCERNING THE ROLE OF THE FRONTIER IN AMERICAN HISTORY
JACKSON VERSUS BIDDLE—THE STRUGGLE OVER THE SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES
THE TRANSCENDENTALIST REVOLT AGAINST MATERIALISM
SLAVERY AS A CAUSE OF THE CIVIL WAR
DEMOCRACY AND THE GOSPEL OF WEALTH
JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER—ROBBER BARON OR INDUSTRIAL STATESMAN?
THE NEW DEAL—REVOLUTION OR EVOLUTION?

COMING IN APRIL:

INDUSTRY-WIDE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING—PROMISE OR MENACE?

IN PREPARATION:

PURITANISM IN EARLY AMERICA
CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
PRAGMATISM AND AMERICAN CULTURE
DEMOCRACY AND THE TRUSTS

About 125 pages each *$1.00 per volume*



D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY

285 Columbus Avenue, Boston 16, Massachusetts

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MAKING OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY: Readings and Documents

Billington, Loewenberg & Brockunier

Four Hundred years of American history, thought and philosophy told through the media of documents, official reports, commentaries, and social readings on American history as it was being made, counterbalanced by modern analyses. *April publication.* Two volumes, paper bound, 900 pages, $2.00 each *or* one volume, casebound at $5.00

THE UNITED STATES:

American Democracy in World Perspective

Billington, Loewenberg & Brockunier

"I think this book is a remarkable departure from the ordinary textbook. The authors admit on every page that the student is an adult, ready and able to look on both sides of the question." *Professor Hortense F. King, Sarah Lawrence College* 894 pp. $5.00

ART AND LIFE IN AMERICA

Oliver W. Larkin, Smith College

"This book is a splendid achievement. I have gone through it with considerable care, and I am satisfied that it will at once make all of the reading lists in American cultural history." *Professor J. D. Hicks, Univ. of California* 547 pp. $6.00

CANADA: A Political and Social History

Edgar McInnis, Univ. of Toronto

"This masterful textbook, written by a native Canadian, is a welcome contribution to a none too well known but vitally interesting field of historical research. As a penetrating study in political and social survival it should be of considerable value to the student of history in general." *The Historical Bulletin* 574 pp. $5.00

Write for examination copies



Rinehart & Company, Inc.

232 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Prentice-Hall
COLLEGE TEXTS

Published in February—

WESTERN AMERICA, Second Edition

By *L. R. Hafen* and *C. C. Rister*

This history of trans-Mississippi expansion and consolidation spells out the central role of the West in the evolution of the American nation. The new Second Edition further traces the cycle of early exploration and conquest to the modern emergence of Western America. Among the added features are:

- Concentration focuses on recent Western developments. Phases of the impact of Western culture are analyzed
- Two new chapters on urban growth and the oil industry of the West are included
- Key sections have been revised to embody further research data and significant materials
- The array of maps, charts and illustrations is improved

Published February, 1950 716 pages 6" x 9"

WEALTH OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
A History of their Economic Life

By *James A. Barnes, Temple University*

This significant text presents the history of American economic development from colonial days to the present. Explaining our steadily rising standard of living as an achievement of the total population, the text reviews the traditional and current structure and function of American economic institutions. The growing responsibilities of the United States in the world community are considered. Full coverage is given to the social, cultural and political heritage that has made America rich in national wealth and freedom.

Published June, 1949 910 pages 6" x 9"

THE FAR EAST
A History of the Impact of the West on Eastern Asia

By *Paul H. Clyde, Duke University*

More than a history of the Far East, this timely and authoritative text also covers the political and social background, the international relations of China and Japan. It is designed for those who seek to understand the Orient today. The emphasis is on the last 100 years, and on America's part in the shaping of the modern Far East. The author shows very clearly that the destinies of America and modern Eastern Asia are inextricably involved.

Published 1948 862 pages 5½" x 8⅜"

Send for your copy today!

PRENTICE-HALL, Inc. 70 Fifth Avenue New York 11, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Select Problems in Historical Interpretation

IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY, 800-1715

T. C. Mendenhall, B. D. Henning, and A. S. Foord, *Yale University*

"I am most enthusiastic about this collection of materials, for it is well selected and edited."—Harold J. Grimm, *The Ohio State University*

1948 369 pages $2.75 Carcassonne and Chartres (illustrations) net $15.00
The Palace of Versailles (illustrations) net $15.00

THE QUEST FOR A PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY IN EUROPE, 1715-Present

T. C. Mendenhall, B. D. Henning, and A. S. Foord, *Yale University*, with the collaboration of Leonard Krieger and G. A. Craig

". . . the Mendenhall books . . . made a very good impression on me indeed. They seem to be by all odds the most unified and effective collections of what used to be called 'source materials.' "—*Crane Brinton, Harvard University*

1948 376 pages $2.75

CRISES IN ENGLISH HISTORY, 1066-1945

B. D. Henning and A. S. Foord, *Yale University*, and B. L. Mathias

"It attains three objectives which should be the goal of a good introductory course in English History: it introduces the student to a rich variety of source material; it presents the interpretations of leading historians on disputed issues; it makes the student think."—*Leland H. Carlson, Northwestern University*

1949 571 pages $3.80

NATIONALISM AND SECTIONALISM IN AMERICA, 1775-1877

D. M. Potter and T. G. Manning, *Yale University*

"It strikes me as the most effectively organized for teaching purposes of all the collections of sources in American history that I know. I believe that it will contribute greatly to the raising of undergraduate history instruction from a mere presentation of established bodies of fact to a fruitful introduction of the student to the processes of historical thinking."—*Arthur E. Bestor, University of Illinois*

1949 362 pages $2.75

Henry Holt and Company

257 Fourth Avenue
New York 10

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Newest Volume of Select Problems in Historical Interpretation

GOVERNMENT AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY, 1870-Present

T. G. Manning and D. M. Potter, *Yale University*, with the collaboration of Wallace E. Davies

Through source and secondary materials this new volume discerningly treats the vital economic problems which have developed since 1870 and which now characterize our present economy. It deals with the industrial transformation of America, the changes in our social thinking, and illustrates the expanding role of government in the economy.
1950 464 pages $3.25

A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Third Edition

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS, *Yale University*

Revised in the light of the most recent scholarship and events, this Third Edition of a distinguished text deals with the diplomatic history of the United States from the backgrounds of American independence through the aftermath of World War II. With penetrating insight the author sets forth the guiding principles of American foreign policy, analyzes the diplomatic situations in which they develop, and focuses upon the problems of the present era.
Ready in March About 950 pages Probable price $5.50 (College Edition)

THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER: *A Diplomatic History, 1898-1950,* incorporates Part III of *A Diplomatic History of the United States, Third Edition.* It is a volume complete in itself, providing an excellent treatment of contemporary diplomacy in terms of our traditional foreign policy.
Ready in May About 500 pages Probable price $3.50 (College Edition)

THE UNITED STATES

From Wilderness to World Power

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW

This successful one-volume text covers the events in American history from the colonial period through World War II and includes chapters on post-war foreign and domestic policy. It is a refreshingly written and well-balanced treatment of the whole field. The arrangement is largely chronological, showing the relationship of economic, social, and political material.
1949 854 pages $5.50

Henry Holt and Company

257 Fourth Avenue
New York 10

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YALE

The AMERICAN MIND

by Henry Steele Commager

This is a new major work by the noted historian and may be described as an interpretation of American thought and character since the 1880's.

"Vernon L. Parrington's death in 1929 broke off the grand design of his *Main Currents in American Thought* about where Commager begins in the 1880's. Though not expressly a sequel THE AMERICAN MIND rounds out the story at long last. . . . Commager's book does credit to an avowed discipleship by its erudition, wit, generous enthusiasm, literary grace, and brilliant summation."—DIXON WECTER in the *Saturday Review of Literature*

"A half-century of extraordinary change and development is here unrolled on a grand canvas, high, wide and handsome in its conception, filled with intricate detail in its execution."

—WALTER MILLIS

Henry Steele Commager is Professor of History at Columbia University and Pitt Professor of History at Cambridge University. His books have included *The Growth of the American Republic* (with S. E. Morison), and *Theodore Parker,* a biography. He has also edited *The Rise of the American Nation,* and *The St. Nicholas Anthology.*

March selection of the Non-Fiction Book Club
April selection of the History Book Club

At all bookstores • $5.00

Yale University Press • New Haven, Connecticut
Publishers of *The Yale Review*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"A stimulating work."

A Survey of WESTERN CIVILIZATION

By HARRY ELMER BARNES

A brilliant book prepared by one of America's most dynamic scholars, designed to meet the present college need for a challenging introduction to man's political and social institutions.

Representative Current Adoptions

University of Southern California
Brigham Young University
New York S.T.C. (Oswego)
Muskogee Junior College
Upsala College
Union College (Kentucky)
Fairmont State College
University of Colorado
Virginia Polytechnic Institute (Danville Branch)
New Jersey S.T.C. (Trenton)
Hope College
Whitworth College (Washington)
New York S.T.C. (Fredonia)
Newark College of Engineering
New York University

Recent Comments

"Among the very best in intelligent emphasis, comprehensive information, good organization, and effective style."
—MARK M. HEALD, *Rutgers University*

"Received, inspected, and approved. Have ordered copies for use this semester." —FRANCIS J. BOWMAN, *University of Southern California*

"The college history instructor obliged to plunge his charges into the stream of civilization could not well do better than to avail himself of this stimulating work." —FERDINAND SCHEVILL in *New York History*

October 1947 959 pages Illustrated $6.50

Send for copies on approval.

THOMAS Y. CROWELL COMPANY
432 Fourth Avenue New York 16

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Distinctive McGRAW-HILL *Books*

LIBERALISM AND THE CHALLENGE OF FACISM: Social Forces in England and France (1815-1870)

By J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO, College of the City of New York. *McGraw-Hill Series in History*. 420 pages, $5.00

"Here is a book worthy of its great theme—and there is no more appropriate subject to which the accumulated wisdom of J. Salwyn Schapiro could be applied. . . . A work mainly concerned with fifty-five years in the Britain and France of the early and middle nineteenth century, it is made profoundly important for today, in and outside of these countries. This is vital and contemporaneous thought, and it is history."—Willson H. Coates, University of Rochester, in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*.

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD HISTORY. From Its Beginnings to World Leadership

By JOHN B. RAE AND THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. *McGraw-Hill Series in History*. 813 pages, $5.00

The purpose of this distinctive new book is to present a record of the development of the United States as part of a general world society, tracing its growth from the colonial foundations to its present position of world leadership. The text begins with a survey of Western civilization at the time of the discovery of America and continues through the election of 1948, describing the major events of this period and showing how the forces mentioned above influenced the growth of the United States and were influenced by it.

JAPAN SINCE PERRY

By CHITOSHI YANAGA, Yale University. *McGraw-Hill Series in History*. 700 pages, $6.00

Gives a well-balanced account of the emergence of Japan as a modern power during the last 100 years in a simple and clear narrative of the important events and personalities in the political, social, economic, and intellectual development of the nation. This text will provide the necessary background for the understanding of Japan's rise to power and the forces which were at work to bring on the Pacific War.

Send for copies on approval

McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY, Inc.

330 West 42nd Street New York 18, N.Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New books for the student of history

A History of the Old South

by Clement Eaton

In this widely-praised new book, the author has brought together the results of research that has been in progress for a generation, and to which he is a notable contributor. The region is presented against the national picture, but is also treated as a distinct section with unique features of its own. $5.00

Earlier Diplomatic History, 1492-1713
Diplomatic History, 1713-1933

by Sir Charles Petrie

Five centuries of diplomatic history are surveyed in these two volumes, which give a concise and readable account of the fundamental movements of power that underlie the events of history. *Each volume*—$2.75

American Literature: A Period Anthology

Revised Editions *Oscar Cargill, general editor*

An indispensable reference for those who are interested in American history, this comprehensive anthology includes full introductions to the cultural setting of each major literary period. *In 4 volumes.*

I. The Roots of National Culture: To 1830. *Spiller & Blodgett.* $3.50
II. The Romantic Triumph: 1830-1860. *McDowell.* $3.50
III. The Rise of Realism: 1860-1900. *Wann.* $3.25
IV. Contemporary Trends: Since 1900. *Nelson & Cargill.* $4.25

A History of England

Revised Edition *by Frederick G. Marcham*

A thorough revision of a superlative book, this text is now sharpened by extensive rewriting and rearranging. A brief account of British history 1937-1948 has been added; otherwise the subject matter remains much the same. The general approach remains a distinguished treatment of economic, social and cultural growth combined with political and governmental history. *To be published in June.*

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY 60 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 11

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Ramparts We Guard

By R. M. MacIVER

"It is an intellectual treat to encounter a popularly written book on democracy that spares us the impassioned rhetoric which wearies rather than inspires, and probes deeply into the assumptions and problems of our political heritage . . . an incisive and suggestive book whose significance cannot be measured by its brevity." —Sidney Hook, *New York Times Book Review*

"Of that small company of Americans who write political theory rather than report, as historians, the theories that other men have written, R. M. MacIver is perhaps the most distinguished. . . . His new book is a sustained adventure into the meaning and implications of that tortured ideal, democracy."—David Spitz, *The New Republic*

$3.00

A Hook in Leviathan

A CRITICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE HOOVER COMMISSION REPORT

By Bradley D. Nash and Cornelius Lynde

"The courage of Mr. Nash and Mr. Lynde commands admiration; their valor in writing what is really a creatively critical review of a 2,000,000-word book inspires us with plain awe. Having served their Government in war and in peace they know all the ins and outs of Washington thoroughly . . . a penetrating and remarkably well-balanced interpretation."—Charles Poore, *New York Times*

$3.00

AT ALL BOOKSTORES **MACMILLAN**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A long-awaited reference book!

THE LINCOLN ENCYCLOPEDIA

Edited by

ARCHER H. SHAW

With this unique, much-needed volume you can now easily refer to Lincoln's ACTUAL WORDS, all identified by time and place. The wealth of quotations—nearly 5,000 of them—reveals the range of Lincoln's thought on an amazing number of subjects.

"You cannot dip into the book without feeling anew the almost eerie power of Lincoln to translate the innermost hopes and faiths of man into simple, illustrious language."—BOB PRICE, *A. P. News Features*

". . . here at long last is an effective key to the living Lincoln—to the man who lives on, as fresh as today's headlines . . . It is impossible adequately to describe a book like this; the book must be thumbed through, read, actually pored over . . ."—EARL S. MIERS, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

"The work is indexed and cross-indexed with such careful judgment and common sense that the Lincoln scholar must in the future reach for it as authority both immediate and final. There is no other book like it, and, because of its nature, it will find no successor."—EMERSON PRICE, *Indianapolis Times*

". . . without a doubt it will prove to be one of the most valuable books on the great President ever published." —*New Haven Register* $6.50

AT ALL BOOKSTORES **MACMILLAN**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VAN NOSTRAND FOR COLLEGE TEXTS

Have You Examined THE STUDY GUIDE

Prepared By Gordon Griffiths For Use With
Our New Texts on Western Civilization?

WESTERN CIVILIZATION—Volume I

John J. Van Nostrand, and Paul B. Schaeffer.

ANTIQUITY TO 1660. Designed as a Freshman college text for one semester, three hours per week. Van Nostrand has written the section from Antiquity to The Fall of The Roman Empire. Schaeffer has handled the Mediaeval Period up to and including the Counter Reformation.

535 pp.——60 Illustrations——36 Maps——Rugged Cloth——$4.75

WESTERN CIVILIZATION—Volume II

SINCE 1660, by FRANKLIN C. PALM. Covers the period from 1660 to the present. Emphasis is given period from 1870 on, since the new order has experienced greatest changes during these years. Can be used, either for general courses covering Western civilization, or for more restricted courses dealing with the 19th and 20th centuries.

697 pp.————109 Illustrations

6 x 9——Rugged Cloth——31 maps (some in color)——$4.75

STUDY GUIDE For Use With TEXTS ABOVE (GRIFFITHS)—90¢

THE UNITED STATES FROM COLONY TO WORLD POWER

By Oliver Perry Chitwood,
Frank Lawrence Owsley, and H. C. Nixon

DESIGNED to satisfy the need for a single-volume textbook for short courses in American History. In essence, it is based on the larger work, A SHORT HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, two volumes published in 1945 and 1948.

867 pp.————Cloth————Illustrated————6 x 9————$6.00

INTRODUCTION TO RUSSIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

By Ivar Spector

The most interesting feature of the book is the way the history of Russian culture is integrated with formal Russian history. For instance—in this text, sections on Russian literature and music run parallel to the formal history—and as much emphasis is placed on Dostoyevsky, who moulded the thought of the Russian people, as on Peter the Great, who laid the foundations for the Russian Empire and its expansion.

454 pp.——6¼ x 9¼——Cloth——Illustrated——Many Maps——$4.50

EXAMINATION COPIES AVAILABLE UPON REQUEST

D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY, INC.

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1848

250 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ESSAYS IN BRITISH AND IRISH HISTORY IN HONOUR OF JAMES EADIE TODD, by Sidney Painter 592
Swart, SALE OF OFFICES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, by Franklin L. Ford . 593
Hardré, LETTERS OF LOUVOIS, by John B. Wolf 594
de Bertier de Sauvigny, LE COMTE FERDINAND DE BERTIER (1782–1864) ET L'ÉNIGME DE LA CONGRÉGATION, by Frederick B. Artz 595
Droz, L'ALLEMAGNE ET LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE, by Eugene N. Anderson . 597
Copeland, OUR EMINENT FRIEND EDMUND BURKE; *Hoffman* and *Levack,* BURKE'S POLITICS, by Carl B. Cone 598
Bolitho, THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA, by Herbert C. F. Bell 601
Venturi, L'ANTICHITA SVELATA E L'IDEA DI PROGRESSO IN N. A. BOULANGER (1722–59), by Elio Gianturco 602
Demarco, IL TRAMONTO DELLO STATO PONTIFICIO: IL PAPATO DI GREGORIO XVI, by Gordon Griffiths 603
Lonyay, RUDOLPH: THE TRAGEDY OF MAYERLING, by Oscar Jászi 604
Deutscher, STALIN: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY, by Lazar Volin 606
Korhonen, SUOMEN HISTORIAN KÄSIKIRJA, by John Ilmari Kolehmainen . . . 607

Far Eastern History

Nourse, FERMENT IN THE FAR EAST, by Mary C. Wright 609
Yanaga, JAPAN SINCE PERRY, by Harold S. Quigley 610
UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH CHINA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PERIOD 1944–49, by Knight Biggerstaff 611
Keeton, CHINA, THE FAR EAST, AND THE FUTURE, by Earl Swisher 613

American History

Perry, CHARACTERISTICALLY AMERICAN, by Richard C. Wade 614
Cady, THE GENTLEMAN IN AMERICA: A LITERARY STUDY IN AMERICAN CULTURE, by Ralph H. Gabriel 615
Starkey, THE DEVIL IN MASSACHUSETTS: A MODERN INQUIRY INTO THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS, by Edmund S. Morgan 616
Owsley, PLAIN FOLK OF THE OLD SOUTH, by Clement Eaton 617
THE PEOPLE SHALL JUDGE, by Harry J. Carman 618
Stuart, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE: A HISTORY OF ITS ORGANIZATION, PROCEDURE, AND PERSONNEL, by Samuel Flagg Bemis 620
Bemis, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, by Arthur P. Whitaker 621
Silver, EDMUND PENDLETON GAINES, FRONTIER GENERAL, by Nolan B. Harmon 623
Warren, FARTHEST FRONTIER: THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST, by Charles M. Gates . 625
Garraty, SILAS WRIGHT, by Glyndon G. Van Deusen 625
Williams, LINCOLN FINDS A GENERAL, by J. G. Randall 627
Chesnut, A DIARY FROM DIXIE, by Wendell Holmes Stephenson 629
Wellman, GIANT IN GRAY: A BIOGRAPHY OF WADE HAMPTON OF SOUTH CAROLINA, by George Fort Milton 630
Hidy, THE HOUSE OF BARING IN AMERICAN TRADE AND FINANCE, by Herbert Heaton 631
Brayer, WILLIAM BLACKMORE: A CASE STUDY IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST, by Paul W. Gates 633
Hinsdale, GARFIELD-HINSDALE LETTERS, by Theodore Clarke Smith 634
Ernst, IMMIGRANT LIFE IN NEW YORK CITY, 1825–63, by Arthur Mann . . . 635
Saveth, AMERICAN HISTORIANS AND EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS, 1875–1925, by Theodore C. Blegen 636
Helmes, JOHN A. JOHNSON, THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNOR, by J. R. Wiggins . . . 637
Dabney, DRY MESSIAH: THE LIFE OF BISHOP CANNON, by Peter H. Odegard . . 639
Ginger, THE BENDING CROSS: A BIOGRAPHY OF EUGENE VICTOR DEBS, by David A. Shannon 641
Morison, CORAL SEA, MIDWAY, AND SUBMARINE ACTIONS, MAY 1942–AUGUST 1942, by Gordon W. Prange 642
Morison, THE STRUGGLE FOR GUADALCANAL, AUGUST 1942–FEBRUARY 1943, by James A. Field, jr. 645
Miller, GUADALCANAL: THE FIRST OFFENSIVE, by H. A. DeWeerd 646
Holleran, CHURCH AND STATE IN GUATEMALA, by J. Lloyd Mecham 648

Other Recent Publications

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES 650

This journal is unable as a rule to review textbooks and works of current discussion.

THE WILLIAM BYRD PRESS, INC.
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*"As complete a work of its kind as ever published."**

An indispensable reference book for the student of Russian history . . .

THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RUSSIA

848-1948

By Mairin Mitchell, F.R.G.S.

Here is the first comprehensive work on the subject to appear in English. Miss Mitchell, in a highly useful and fascinating volume, surveys the entire course of Russian maritime history from its origins up to 1948. She discusses not only naval history but the Russian explorations and discoveries which bear on it.

THE IMPORTANCE OF RUSSIAN GEO-POLITICS

What is the background to the seaward expansion of the Soviet Union?
How will Moscow's maritime aims affect her relations with the British Empire and the new U. S. sea power in the Pacific?

Employing the geo-political theories of Sir Halford Mackinder, Miss Mitchell shows that oceanic affairs are one of the principal considerations of Soviet foreign policy.

A DETAILED, DOCUMENTED STUDY

A little known aspect of Russian history has at last been exhaustively treated in this 544 page text bristling with notes and references. Of special interest are the accounts given of the operation of the Soviet fleets in World War II and the excerpts here reproduced from Hitler's Conference on Naval Affairs as it applied to Russia. The volume also contains an invaluable 26-page bibliography and some magnificent maps specially drawn by J. F. Horrabin.

*"As complete a work of its kind as ever published . . . it will unquestionably assume deserved prominence as a reference for all agencies and persons interested in today's stupendous Russian problem."
The Hartford Courant

At a time when the United States and Russia are both imbued with a sense of "historic destiny," *The Maritime History of Russia* becomes a book of the first importance.

544 pages Illustrated $5.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

60 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

CHICAGO ATLANTA BOSTON DALLAS SAN FRANCISCO

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED